CULT OF ŚIVA

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Dr. Bansidhar Biswal

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Dedication

In the memory of sacrifice
of my wife, Mrs. Sobharani

PREFACE

It is a fact that this work is a growth of 'Akhandalamani Itivṛtta' written in Oriya. In preparing the manuscript for the press the title has been changed. Major D. K. Nanda and Niranjan Satapathy are there behind the curtain of the book. I am much grateful to them. More so I express my sincere thanks to Dr. Janakiballav Mohanty, Chittaranjan Das and Dr. Harischandra Das who rendered their possible helps for the thesis. I could not but convey my best regards to Messrs. Punthi Pustak, Calcutta who has brought it to light.

Dr. Bansidhar Biswal

ABBREVIATIONS

A.V.	Ambika Vilasa
A.V.	Atharva Veda
Asta	Astadhyayi
Isa	Isopanisad
Br.	Bruhadaranyaka
Rk.	Rg. Veda
Mah	Mahabharata
S.B.	Satapatha Brahmana
Yaju	Yajurveda

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Introduction

Importance of Śiva Cult in Orissa & its Necessity of Analysis

Śiva Cult, as a religious system, evolved in Orissa to conduct the social life of about third century B.C. We do not attach importance on decipherment of historicity, rather it comes in circumstantially. Śiva is a recondite god, and so the Cult of him has gone beyond accurate approach. But its intrinsic merit has become so profound and inaccessible that if any one approaches a part of it comes to light with approximation. The reality in which Śiva Cult has passed through and the reality, which has been shrouded by esoterism and myths, has not been explored at par with the social evolution. Such was the fate of early Saivism for the fact that there was necessity of romanticising religion for the tribals and the sophisticated classes.

Primarily, Orissa was a Nisada habited land. Now the Nisadas are known as the Sabaras. These two terms signify aborigines, in general, like Adivasi rather than any particular tribe with separate group entity. In the Satarudriya litany, accompanying the offerings appropriate to Rudra in his hundred aspects or names, reverence is shown, among others, to them. Association of Śiva with Sabaras or Nisadas goes back to the period round about beginning of first millenium B.C. So we give importance on names and folk-lore which definitely have some testimonies of cultural strands. In Vedic literature, Sanskrit literature and Oriya vernacular names or titles have not been created as mere label to distinguish one from the other, rather these seem to have been selected as Vehicles of cultural significances.

In this point of view we have, as necessary, taken up names ; i.e. Śiva, Rudra, Indra, Bhaga, Ambā, Durga, Kali, Dirghatamas, Gaṇadanda Virabhadra, Rudrasudhanidhi, Abhinava Caitanya, Narayanananda (personal names), Odra, Kalinga (place names), Kanakaprabha, Vasantatilaka (metres) and Odaparva, Dandayatra (festivals) to probe into the Cult. Besides, we have given adequate attention on folk-festivals, folk-ceremonies, folk-art and myths to trace out their sources of origin. They may speak about their antiquity preceding 4th century A.D. as historians calculated. Like dynastic and archaeological history, there is history of guardian deities in the out-skirts of villages constituting the *Rājya* of Orissa and also there is history of social behaviour of people habitating in the land. So the real history of Orissa, though hypothetical, is phallic rather than Saivite. Here Śiva includes Sakti in him and sometimes, Sakti includes Śiva in her. Though they are equal entities, one cannot be thought of leaving the other one completely. They symbolise patriarchy and matriarchy of sociological stages. In this background we call Śiva Cult a federal religious system. Śiva Cult includes Sakti Cult and again, it has greatly been motivated by the Vajrayana justifying its federal character. We have analysed our work in five Chapters :

Chapter I. In this chapter we have dealt with the conceptions of god, worship and religion. It is worship which forms the link between god and religion. There are religions without god, but in them there is worship of the full-fledged human life which is revered as god. Śiva is the off-spring of the idea of seeing life full-fledged. His endeavours in this respect made him worshippable as triple-frons and he became the source of Hindu Triad. His doctrine of life was transcendental spiritism which resulted in aestheticism. His doctrine was a type by itself in the monotheistic religious thought. It was different from henotheism and polytheism. It was tantric which was giving rise to Jivanmukti. In ancient time the up-holders of his doctrine were the Vratyas, the Bhagavatas, the Mahesvaras, the Kapalikas, the Aghoris and the Pasupatas.

Chapter II. Sometimes 'Proto-Śiva' and 'Rudra-Śiva' create an impression that former is the source of origin and the latter is the source of development of Śiva as known in the Puranas. But Proto-Śiva was sufficient on to him and he was Śiva ; Rudra was his power-within and he was personified. The Puranic-Śiva was his mythical corroborations. Śiva was a man-god and he had also whereabouts.

Chapter III. With reference to Śiva Cult in general we deal with its position in Orissa. We deal with the concept of Kalinga, Orissa, Udrayana, Gaṇadanda, Virabhadra and Indra which are connected with phallism and later, connected with Saivism of Orissa. All these have come into prominence with religious back grounds. The Vedic seer, Dirghatamas, is the main source of Kalinga kingdom. According to his philosophical view Kalinga means Ka-Linga (Surya-Śiva) and Kalinga means the worshipper of phallic deities. Orissa is the land of Udra-tribe, their deity is Odasuni and their manner of Yogic practice is Udrayana. Gaṇadanda Virabhadra is the first exponent of Saiva system called Udrayana. Buddhism at its second phase appropriated popular Saiva deities and rituals and in return, set the traditional Saivism in liturgical order. Brahmana immigrants of Saiva and Vaisnava creed came from Madhyadeṣa and South India. Under their influence dynastic kings lent their support to Saivism and by them Vaisnavism got born and Buddhism was put down.

Chapter IV. Impact of Śiva worship on social life of Orissa is of two kinds—institutional and theological. The social organisation consists of folk-painting, folk-festival and folk-ceremony and it shows a cultural stream under which villages in Orissa are laboratories of religious consciousness. So also the social life of theology consists of arts, architecture and literature and it shows the aesthetic sense, discipline and fellow-feeling of people. As regards Saiva influence, the Scheduled Tribes and the sophisticated classes have been taken into account.

Chapter V. Saivism of Orissa has its decline. It came in the development of Vaisnavism, quantitative increase in cult-spots and growth of material view.

Contribution of Śiva Cult of Orissa to the Pan-Indian Culture and Literature

Cultural heritage of India is wonderful for its unity in diversity. Fooding and clothing in India have no uniformity.

The Indian Nation is built of religion. Though religions are numerous, they have common links like austerity and Moksa, the former is the means and the latter is end of every one. Religion brings uniform pattern of life despite regional variations and that uniformity comes from religious reciprocation. So it is difficult to ascertain the contribution, because one's contribution means one's original thought and original work.

It is believed Saivism flourished in Orissa from about third century B.C. Orissa formed a part of the Mainland of hunters and food-gatherers. There are images of fighting and of marriage of Śiva and Ambā in the Deccan and such images came in about 1000 B.C. The South is the cradle of Ceyon and Emma since remote past. Ancient kingdoms, Kalinga and Kosala, from which Orissa of the Dombu-Udras emerged are supposed to be influenced greatly by the Saiva culture of the South and the Madhyadesa. But Śiva Cult has been inter-related with the primary phallic deities, the Sun and the Earth in such a fashion that it has no distinct identity. Still from the 3rd century B.C. things bearing Saiva testimonies are numerous which have helped much to build the Pan-Indian Saiva monuments. Among all, the following may be counted upon as contributions :—Gaṇadanda Virabhadra who was a Bhairava, and was an exponent of Dandin sect in Orissa. His real name is shrouded in mystery. Like him there was another mythic personality, Indradyumna who may be identified with Madhava Varman of the Sailodbhavas. Madhava Varman's deifications as Śiva in the Banapur Plates of Madhyamaraja and as Cakradhara in the Khurda Plates of Madhavaraja may be taken to corroborate the deification of Indradyumna as Jagannatha.

Jagannatha, most probably, is the development of 'Jakar' of the Savaras, not the development of Jaganta. Jaganta is not the Supreme god of the Savaras. 'Jakar' of the Savaras is sometimes suffixed with 'ma' and sometimes with 'sum' to connote mother-goddess and male-deity. It is Jakarmma from which Jagannatha Triad evolved. Jakarmma is the same as Jagulai of Orissa. Before sanskritisation Jakar might have been Jagar. It is also seen in the Jaya-Vijaya Inscription and in popular use of Jagannatha as Jagar-natha. That is the reason J.B. Mohanty identifies Jagannatha with Śiva (Divya-

Adivya) Odasuni and Olasuni are one and the same and Odasuni is the communal deity of the Udras. Olasuni is the famous deity in the Ratnagiri area. She is in the Boudha centre and is recognised as Boudha deity. But all Boudha deities are basically Saiva deities. First such deity may be Kicakesvari of Mayurabhanja district. She has been brahmanised and sanskritised. Before such transformation, according to K. C. Panigrahi, the deity was Camunda. The name of Camunda occurs, for the first time, in the Malati-madhava and Camunda of Malatimadhava has been identified with Mahakali of Ujjain and she is the consort of Mahakala. In the Mahabharata there is no mention of the name, Camunda. There is the mention that Durga had her eternal abode in the Vindhyas and she was fond of intoxicating liquor, flesh and cattle (Virata Parva, Ch. VI). It is not impossible, she was Odasuni prior to her being Camunda. When Udras became Hinduized Bhanjas, Odasuni had become Camunda. But Udaparva has been coming down without any change. The ancient tribes had no specific attachment to male-deity. As usual, Odasuni was male and female deities to them. After her being Hinduized, the male deity was revered separately. She became Bhairavi and her counter-part was chosen to be Bhairava.

Such a Bhairava is the Nataraja of Asanpat. The central power bloc of Bhanjabhumi was divided and Khinjalimandala became power house of administration. Tarini became the tutelary deity of Khinjalimandala. The image of Nataraja is unique, because it came out of aesthetic state of Śiva. In Khinjalimandala there is Mukhalinga at Sitabanji and Dengaposi area. It bears the testimony of phallic worship. From twelve Jyotirlingas, Naganatha is said to be in Orissa. It is difficult to identify Naganatha. Such a Linga might be there in Bhanjabhumi in ancient time. Most probably, that Linga was Kotilinga whose existence may be inferred by present Kotingia Praganna in the district of Mayurabhanja. Kotilinga and Naganatha are replicas of rayed god, who had a serpentine lower part, in the Indus Valley. Of course, three Lingas were documented in the Mahabharata in connection with Yudhisthira's pilgrimage, but these are not really ancient Śivalingas.

The temples of Bhubaneswar carry erotic positions of

Śiva. These images show the significance of Śivayoga prevailing in Orissa. Among the festivals, Spring Festival of Narasinghpur and Raja festival observed all over Orissa are phallic by nature.

Besides, to the stock of Saiva literature, contribution of Orissa is no less creditable. Like erotic images, Saiva literature came out of the inter-play of Yogic principles of fire and water. So, the superstructure, though erotic, leads to a graceful spirit. In arts and literature, Yoga is the acquisition of power to bring magical effects of sculptural equipments, and writing materials. Arts and literature, in their primary objects, were meant to convey the purpose of life. So the responsibility of the early sculptures and poets were great. Among the poets of Sanskrit and Oriya all had the necessity of showing means for Mukti. With this end in view epigraphs were scribed, and tantric texts, Kavyas, Puranas, Dharmasastras and lyrics in great number were written.

Three Grants of Sambhuyasa of the Mudgalas and the Grants of the Sailodbhavas were scribed in reverence to Śiva. Specially the Inscriptions of the Sailodbhavas were written in Sanskrit metres of Sragdhara, Vasantatilaka, Indravajra etc. It is known that during the period of Udyotakesari, Subhacandra had written 'Danarnava' on Yoga and he was a famous Saiva exponent. So also Bhavadeva, the preceptor of Udyotakesari, had written 'Tantrarnava' in Sanskrit. It is known from the Inscription of Somesvara temple at Ranipur-Jharial that Gaganasiva had written a commentary, Vyomavati. Agnicit Nityananda had written Śivalilamrta Mahakavyam on the footprints of Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. Many Grants of the Bhanja dynasty were scribed to glorify Śiva in his different aspects. Among the Puranas written in Sanskrit, the Kapila Samhita, the Ekamra Purana, the Svarnadri Mahodaya, the Ekamracandrika, the Praci Mahatmya, the Arkaksetra Mahatmya and the Viraja Mahatmya are notable for the popularity of Śiva, Sakti and Saiva patrons. The Kapila Samhita describes about Ekamraksetra, Kapilasa and Sikharesvara. The Ekamra Purana mentions about Śiva, Pārvati and Kapilesvara Deva. The Svarnadri Mahodaya describes about various temples and ponds of Bhubanesvara. The Ekamracandrika mentions about very small and unimportant Saiva temples built towards the close of the Gajapati rule. The Praci Mahatmya deals with Śiva and Madhava, typically with twelve Sambhus and twelve Madhavas of Praci Valley. The Viraja Mahatmya deals with Saiva patrons of Soma dynasty, Viraja, Dasasvamedha Ghata, and Varahanatha. Besides, many palm-leaf manuscripts of Śivagita, Śivanamamṛtasindhu, Śiva Puranam, etc. are kept preserved in the Orissa Museum.

Many Puranic stories on Śiva and Pārvati are found carved out in the temples of Bhubanesvara. These were done to attract the people towards Saivism. The Svarnajalesvara temple, the Parasuramesvara temple, the Mohini temple, the Sisiresvara temple, the Markandesvara temple, the Muktesvara temple, the Lingaraja temple, the Brahmesvara temple and the Citrakarini temple are notable.

In Oriya vernacular a few Saiva books have been published. These are more important than the books written in Sanskrit. The Candi Purana and Sarala Mahabharata (Saraladas) ; Kalasa Cautisa (Vatsadas) ; the Sisuveda, the Amarakosa Gita, the Saptanga Yoga, the Astanga Yoga, the Gorekha Samhita and the Saptanga Yogasara Tika (Balaram Das) ; the Govindacandra and the Śivasvarodaya (Yasovanta Das) ; the Tika Govindacandra (Yogindra Daivajna Vipra) ; the Gorekha Samhita (Candrasekhara Natha) ; the Śiva Purana (Dvarika Das) ; the Rudrasudhanidhi (Narayanananda) ; the Ambika Vilasa (Brajanatha Badajena) and the Langalesvara Kavya (Dinabandhu Biswal) have received appreciations from many scholars in Oriya literature. These books have been written within 15th to 20th century A.D. Though, Sarala Mahabharata is after all a Mahabharata, it is packed up with information of Śiva Cult of Orissa. In 'Kalasa Cautisa' and Langalesvara Kavya Śiva and Pārvati have been members of the farmer's family of Orissa. The Ambika Vilasa is a Ritikavya on to Sanskrit rhetorics. Works of Balaram Das, Yasovanta Das, Dvarika Das and Daivajna Bipra are mainly dealt with the theology of Nathism. The Rudrasudhanidhi and the Sarala Mahabharata recorded historicity of the evolution of Jagannatha. Narayanananda of the Rudrasudhanidhi is more related to the theology of the Saiva Siddhanta than anything else.

Hundreds of tantric texts were written both in Sanskrit and Oriya and their manuscripts have been preserved in the Orissa Museum. Just like hymns of occult practices of the Atharva Veda, the Uddisa tantra speaks about its ancient character. In addition to the Yogic systems, it deals with the satkarma, i.e. stambhana, marana, mohana, vasikarana, vidyesa and uchatana.

It is known from the invocatory verse of the Udramaresvara Mahatantra, (I.20) which is available in the Orissa Museum, that Yogi-Krusna is guarded by Astasambhus. It is just a replica of Vratyadeva sitting in austerity in the Atharva Veda.

There are rich folk traditions on paintings, ceremonies, agriculture, trade, disease, birth, death, marriage, natural calamities and occult practices of Saiva or Phallic origin. In course of time, by the influence of Buddhism and Vaisnavism, the Saiva traits have been covered in such a manner that it is difficult to trace them out.

1

Śiva in the Evolutionary Process of Religion

GOD, worship and religion are, in spirit, relative factors in the history of social progress of human society. In the past there were gods without worship and there were religions without god. It was worship which had been a link to bridge the gulf between god and religion and it had set them in progress through ups and downs. Generally, God is a different type of personality; worship is the quintessence of religious life and religion is the state of salvation in which man remains in exclusive company of God. From remote past to the present day, it would be seen that where there is neither God, nor religion, surely there is worship of full-fledged human life and it fits into the aim and object of the liturgy of religions. To see or make life full-fledged was the humanitarian go and it, certainly, was at work since the dawn of civilisation, and at a given time, Śiva had been an tablets of the Indus Valley, where he was emerged as a great off-spring of that process. The sculptural evidences, seals and teacher, prompt us to say that he was a humanist, and suffering of his fellow-men compelled him to hold individual responsibility of self-realisation through mortification of body on the basis of austerity and tantra. He had made salvation possible in life and his success had crowned him with god-hood and he was worshipped as god-head. His being triple-frons and he being surrounded by animals may point to the fact that he was deemed god of gods forming, later, the Hindu Triad. Most probably, his doctrine was in encounter with the traditional phallism and as a result, phallism, alongwith spiritism, was metamorphosed into transcendental spiritism resulting in aestheticism or Rasavada. This philosophic doctrine was a type by itself in the monotheistic religious thought and it had its strong hold during the Vedic age. The followers of this doctrine were Vratyas from which sects like Bhagavata, Mahesvara, Kapalika, Aghori, Pasupata, etc. came out.

Development of the Idea of God and Śiva There In

The term, God stands for Isvara (god-head), Deva, Dharma, and more so, for Devatā (deity) in India. As like as the connotation, the sources of origin of the term, God are also various. For this reason though M. M. Williams defines the term as god-hood, image of a deity, Idol and many others, Gurudutta Vidyarthi says, "The word devatā is a most fruitful source of error, and it is very necessary that its exact meaning and application should be determined."[1] Panini defining the term "devāt tal" (Asta. 5.4.27) has shown that there was no difference between the terms "deva" and "devatā" in his time. From the sources of origin of the term god (deva) it would be seen that the same was derived from "devatā" or "goddess" and later, they were equated in the Saiva literature.

The savages known to us had no god and they knew nothing about prayer and sacrifice. They had some religious motifs. In this pre-historic stage magic was the only way to live happily. They found the presence of spirits in things, malevolent and benevolent, to them. Even diseases, warms, plants and animals were gods to them. In the Atharva Veda the fever was the most alarming demonical being. In medical charms of the Atharva Veda and of the Kausika Sutra,. diseases and curative agencies were treated supernatural beings. The popular mind was ready to see, in disease, the manifestation of the will of a supernatural power.[2] Water was considered as the healing element in the Atharva Veda. (II. 29.6 ; III. 7.5 ; and VI. 91.12) The plants being the off-spring of water were also considered gods. (A.V. VI. 96 ; VIII. 7). Such was the reason which induced the Vedic poets to invoke Soma Plant. (A.V. VI. 1.7) Besides, people were worshipping patron spirits to guide them. They were Pitrudevas and great souls of society. Edward Gough clarifies that the primitives had great devotion towards the spirits. The primitive people were conscious of paying debts, due with them, of their fore-fathers. They were paying on the prescriptive usages of traditional religion. This they were doing with tho hope that the payment of debts would enable them to get higher embodiments or would make way to the Paradise of Pitrudevas. They had strong belief that the present state of life was the result of metempsychosis, and observance of the usages and rites could result in higher or lower state of life.[3] D. Chattopadhyaya, again, says that the primitive magic was pre-spiritualistic and pre-idealistic. These two kinds of spiritual activities rested on spirit, an assertion, when expressed in term of theology, assumed the form an idea of God.[4]

The spirit, we see, reacts upon man and matter to be God, and the anthropomorphic habits of common people describe him God of Gods. In this anthropomorphic and animistic stage of understanding of God the events in their surroundings were interpreted as spirits. These spirits had a world apart from man. It would be seen that the scientific framework of understanding of God is different from theological framework. In the former, all events of nature are amenable to experimental and field studies. While H. G. Wells, Julion Huxley and G. P. Wells look into its scientific acceptance.[5] S. Radhakrishnan defines it as the soul of the world, a creating, organising and perfecting power, and the source of our moral, religious and aesthetic ideals.[6] Of-course, science has shattered the throne of God. Still the opinion of eminent scholars like S. Radhakrishnan holds true. Even the scientist like Julius Adler researches for fifteen years and he stops at spirit or mystery which causes wonder.[7] This wonder can be found in natural phenomena and also in man having supernatural character. As S. P. Karnal says, "as supernaturalism is vestigal in character God ought to be a historical character. Due to the fact of individual variations, some individuals have big variations. These variations make them geniuses. Their contributions become social heredity and such men become a new group having a major breakthrough."[8] In such circumstances Einstein, Newton and Karl Marx are to be worshipped like Gautama Buddha. Jesus Christ and Caitanya, but they are not. What distinguish one group from the other are the exceptional gifts of ethical perception and dynamism. The religious consciousness in Caitanya, or Christ or Buddha is an object of rapport infinitely superior to others in value character. So, in the evolution of the conception of God while spirit makes one a worshipful man, makes the other a God. It is historical fact that the accomplished Yogis (ascetics) have power over subtle forces of Nature. They could crystallise illusion. They are great souls and they work for the humanities. These ascetics are honoured and are worshipped mainly for their achievement of miracles. They are spiritualists.

Spiritualism and Spiritism

Spiritism and spiritualism have been derived from the word "spirit". A communication with base spirits is spiritism and a communication with the supreme spirit is spiritualism. With the development of rationalism and broadened faith based on realisation, spiritism and spiritualism are reconciled and mysticism goes to a higher level. In primitive society spiritism had given rise to a conception of God. God started with progress. The agency which lifted man from one level to the other is Activity or Mind or God. His activity for self-enlargement or self-expression was not outside the human society. In mystic religion spiritualism and spiritism were mixed together with a man-god, but personal gods were many.

A Quest for One God Brought a Phallic Deity

Man longs to live a longer period and to multiply his species. Sir William Ridgeway, in course of his research on Folk-drama, was in favour of this decision. This inherent desire in early man gave rise to one god who could help him. Under this social need sex-worship came into force throughout the world.[9] According to him the idea of god came to the early man first for increasing generative power. But it might have been the latter idea and the idea of fertility might have been the former. The Earth was providing food and shelter. So, shelters like tree, mountain etc., and the Earth as their protectress were deities (devatās) to them. The outlook of early man developed. He became conscious of the Sun, the counterpart of the Mother-Earth. Both of them were regarded as the ancestors, the guardians and later, as phallic deities. The idea of god was derived from goddess. The civilisation dawned. The civilised men and women by dint of tantra-yogic perfection became sun-gods and mother-goddesses.

Śiva was a God for His Austerity

Among the whole of the Indian literature, for the first time, Śiva was recognised as a God in the Taittiriya Saṁhita. But his proto-god-hood may go back to the period of the third millenium B.C. Much has been told about the divinities, alongwith proto-Śiva, of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa. Like others R. B. Pandey, on the occasion of his study over the seals and amulets, has classified all as commercial, magical, religious and votive. He says, again, that these were in use, most probably, for preaching moral and religious motives of the Indus people abroad. These were objects of worship containing religious formula. The writings on them contain names of and invocations to the deities represented by animals and the deities too.[10] It is a fact that there was religion presided over by the Sun and the Mother-Earth, and in the Indus Valley Śiva and Ambā became their substitutes. We have discussed it in the Chapter III. Proto-Śiva in the Indus Valley was in a Yogic pose (Plate XII, 17) and also there were many other persons in Yogic pose (Plate XC VIII; Plate XCIX, 4-6). These latter persons are found engaged in Yoga with eyelids almost closed and the eyes turned towards the tip of the nose. The male figurines were, without exception, nude. They were seated either with arms round the knees or they were in devotional attitude. The male divinities were characterised by horned heads. They were simply miniatures of the principal figurine, the proto-Śiva. They were mainly artistic images. The principal figurine was seated on a raised throne in an attitude of practising Yoga. The image was triple-frons wearing a pair of horns in the form of trident. There was one female figurine, head downwards and legs stretched out upwards, with a plant issuing out of her womb. These images, in one sense, are fetishes and in another sense, are idols. A fetish is regarded as supernatural and an idol is meant an image only, a similitude or a symbol of something else. No doubt, an idol becomes a fetish. The fetish, either a stone or an image, consists of higher ideas of aspiration rather than its fulfilment. That aspiration led many to create miracles in the day to day social life.[11] In ancient days magicians and sorcerers were in perfect harmony with religions. Now it might be seen in the Tribal society. They did not form a caste, but they were identified themselves with some particular god. Similar practice was followed in Egypt and Babylone.[12] This was one of the reasons which brought out the figurine of Śiva to the level of worship.

Besides, religious and aesthetic conditions may also be responsible for the god-hood of Śiva. Alfred Adler says that it is human psychology to strive in his life to obtain recognition. That is the motive force behind all imitative arts and sculpture. A religious man has such desire to see himself and his desire getting shape on the altar of his temple of learning. It is surely a classic concept. The image of the self is the emergent pattern of his behaviour. It exerts the influence upon others and upon its environments. This is a function of personality rather than the structure. While it survives, the spiritual value is attached to it and it maintains the harmony among the humanity and god within it.[13] The status of Śiva in the Indus Valley represents the pre-historic element of aesthetic flavour or Rasa as people were feeling then. This aesthetic pleasure was Supreme God to them and any of them, who was enjoying it perfectly, became God to others.[14] This idea of god-hood has also been recognised in the Atharva Veda. X.8.44—"akamodhiro namrtahsvayambhu rasen trpto na kutase anonah". The asceticism was also told as the essential factor of attaining god-hood. (A.V. X. 8.30). The primitives had a gloomier and darker view of religion but austerity was conjenial. God-hood of proto-Śiva was not the only instance, it was a custom among the predynastic and dynastic kings of Egypt and Babylone of about the third millenium B.C. The local chiefs of Egypt were given the grandeur of divine kingship and after their death, pitgraves were created in a manner just like their bodies. The Babylonian myth tells that the kings before Noah were living for supernatural length of period.[15] Presumably, they were practising austerity which was providing them longer life. Benjamin Rowland says that architectural and sculptural objects corresponding to Indian origin have been discovered from Tel-Asmar in Iraq, and in Kish and Susa in Iran.[16]

Śiva in the Hindu Triad

The conception of Triad came into prominence in later ethical development. This development formed Triad in the Hinduism constituting Brahmā, Viṣnu and Rudra or Śiva. Here the position of Rudra and Śiva is most conspicuous. They form the idea of becoming one and the same, but it is far from truth. We have discussed it in the Chapter II.

The gods had their evolution and changes. The scholars of the Vedic literature found that the varied phenomena of Nature had created many gods and they classed them into three heads—(a) gods of air; (b) gods of sky ; and (c) gods of earth. In the Neo-Brahmanic literature they were taken as Brahmā, Viṣnu and Rudra. Moreover, Brahmā, Viṣnu and Rudra combined together formed the basis of the three-fold impersonation :—preservation, reproduction and destruction of creation of the Upanisadic Brahmana and of the Vedic and pre-Vedic Sun and Earth. The conglomeration of sectarian religious god-heads took place during the Gupta age and it was resulted in Gandhara Relief with three headed and six-armed Trimurtti and in literary descriptions of Sanskrit. This attempt of the Guptas failed with the fall of their rule. Later, the declining economy, as Dale Riepe says, again brought sharp division in religions and the division created an influence of higher and lower among the sects,[17] and so, each god of the Triad became creator of the other in respective scriptures. In the Viṣnu Purana (I. 2.66-67), Viṣnu became the author of creation, preservation and destruction and he has been the creator of Brahmā, Viṣnu and Śiva. In this case, he is Janārdana. So also, in the Linga Purana, Sadāśiva has been Sabdabrahma and he has created Bhava, Viṣnu and Brahmā (11.38). In all Visnuite and Saivaite mythologies, Brahmā has been entrusted with the duties of creation of the souls. In the Śiva Purana an episode goes that Parama Puruṣa entrusted him with the responsibility of creating living beings. He created males. He was desired that the creation would be greater one. He was really lacking in proper principle of creation. So his creation did not increase. At the sight of this he bewildered. The males became only ascetics. The desire of Parama Puruṣa was not fulfilled. Brahmā made efforts again and again, but he failed in his mission. He indulged himself in austerity. Then he came to know that he should have created females. Now he did so. Still the creation remained the same as before. It was due to his ignorance of sexual relation between male and female. He, again, engaged in austerity meditating on Samkara and his Energy. They came and stood before him in hermaphrodite form. They blessed him and disappeared. No sooner had they gone away, Kandarpa and Rati appeared with their uncommon beauty and unquenchable sex desire. A great commotion was created among the males and females for mixing together. The creation increased. Brahmā became satisfied.[18]

From this episode, it would be known that Brahmā had not full authority over creation which passed on to the credit of phallic deities. So, Brahmā remained as a pale-reflex of the Upanisadic Brāhmaṇa. It was not one only, many legends and mythic stories had been coined about the god-heads or about one god of gods. These myths and sculptures establish a religious form and content. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra forming the Triad became inseparable parts of a fourth entity. So, it may be a fact that Brahmā represented air ; Viṣṇu represented Sun and Rudra represented both of the two to become the fourth entity in the mythologies. The fourth entity was no other than Śiva. So, Ramatapini Upanisad says : "Śivam, Śānṭam, Advaiṭam, Caṭuram manyanṭe" and Manickavacakar, the seer of the Saiva Siddhanta, says :—

> "Him the more ancient than the Triad,
> The Lord, Śiva unknown to the Devas all and to the
> Three and Thirty three".[19]

It would be seen that the conception of the Hindu Triad owed much to Babylonian 'Trigon' and Śiva of the Indus Valley. A term 'Trigon' similar to the Hindu Trimūrtti or Triad was found in use in Babylone during the period of Chaldeans. The physicians there were taking five stars as Interpreters and thirty stars as Councellors. Of them, twelve were authorities over men. They were gods only in consideration of health and disease. They were devised as Trigons of air, water, earth and fire. The Trigon of air was consisted of three aerial signs of the zodiac—Aquarius, Gemini and Libra and the Trigon of fire was consisted of Aries, Leo and Sagitatious. A man is destined to share with aerial and fiery natures.[20] Round about the same period, the Indus Valley was the religious centre having seals and tablets with the marks of the number, three. Proto-Śiva was with triple-frons and he had a trident-like horned dress. G. R. Hunter also remarks that three-faced objects were common in Harappa. A three-headed goat and a three-faced bull with man walking with offerings were there in Mahenjo-daro. Among uneven numbers, the graphic variant of (|||) is found used as strokes in Proto-Indian, Proto-Elamite and Sumerian scripts.[21] Pythagoras had derived religious sanctity of the numerical figure, three. To him any odd number was formless and unqualified, and these had produced even numbers with form and quality. The formless proceeded to take form on numerical basis, and gradual addition of odd numbers resulted in squares :—$1^2+3=2^2+5=3^2+7=4^2+9=5^2$. Among all odd numbers 'three' was more important to him.[22]

Among all geometrical figures, triangles were taken as good omen by the primitives at Nagarjuna Konda in Andhra, and these were in use in the folk-arts of Orissa and of other places. The triangles symbolise phallic deities. The base of the triangle represents female generative organ and if the base remains down-wards, the vertical point represents male generative organ. If one triangle remains on the other, it means union of the two for creation.[23]

In the third millemium B.C. numerical figure, three, was used in the religious centre of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa, and it got its strong hold in religious purposes as it was added to Proto-Śiva. Then the conception of three entities, in connection with creation, found its first expression in the Vedas and it took concrete shape in the Maitrayani Upanisad 1.7.4.1.[24] There came three Vedas. The Jain-scripture was known as 'Triratna' and the Buddhist scripture was known 'Tri-Pitaka'. Most probably the idea was developed by the Buddhist scholars. In Buddhism 'Three Joints', 'Three Births', 'Three Times' and 'Big Three' were popular terms.[25] Along-with these, Buddhism had also Triad consisting of Avalokita, the historical Buddha and the heavenly Buddha Amitabha.[26] The conception of Triad then developed in the Bhagavata and other mythologies. In this way, it would be seen that the three god-heads have been derived from one Ultimate Authority, who cannot be other than a Phallic Deity. That Phallic Deity was known, sometimes, in the name of a male and sometimes in the name of a female. This was so happened due to the predominance of matriarchy and patriarchy as the case might have been. Very likely, Proto-Śiva began to be the Ultimate source under patriarchy, from which, the Triad evolved later.

The above postulation about Śiva being the fourth entity coincides with a colloquial saying, 'Gaṇeśamūḷa' of Oriya which means a main trunk of the tree. From 'Gaṇeśamūḷa' all other branches come out. Here the term 'Gaṇeśa' seems to mean chief of the Pancadevatā (five deities) of the Hindu pantheon and he has been told to be the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is doubtful if pre-Vedic Śiva and Ambā had any son. It is only during the Gupta age, all gods and goddesses came down from high pedestal to be confined in a family life. So Gaṇeśa became the mind-born son of Pārvatī only. To give him a high and different identity episodes were created, but really, Gaṇeśa was a form of Rudra, and prior to it, he was one from the Gaṇas meaning Bhutas (demons), Vetal (Vampire), Piśāca (Witch), Goblin (mischief), Preta (ghost) and Yaksa (gnome), Later, religious literature like the Śiva Purana, (Rudra Samhita, Ch. XIX) the Ganapatitattva Ratmam and the Maudgala Purana rose him to high place in worship. But all these texts owed much the Taittiriya Samhita in which *gaṇas* were equated with Rudra—"namo ganebhyo ganapatibhyaśca vo namo namo" (4.5.4.). C. Sivaramamurti interprets it as manifestation of Rudra. On the reverse of a coin of Huviska Śiva has been depicted as Gaṇeśa. In Madras Museum there is one image of Śiva in the form of Gaṇapati.[27] Gaṇeśa resembles to Roman Janus who was a goblin of Arabian demonology. Janus was the attendant and guard on the entrance of the caverned retreat in the Caucasus of goddess, Oomia.[28] It seems Gaṇeśa or Janus had come out of a compromise between male-tantrin and female-tantrin like Śiva and Ambā, and so, he became first worshippable among all. The totemic feature has been added to him by the Brahmin priests as people were fond of it in the past.

Quintessence of Worship in Saivism

The worship is the quintessence of religious belief. Proto--

historic Śiva and Ambā have been superimposed on primitive fetishes who were primarily guardian deities and phallic deities. It is not known exactly what was the system of worship of these deities prior to creation of tantric liturgies. The Indus Valley was a tantric centre and there was worship of the deities, but its real form is still uncertain. The system of worship prevailing during that dark period can be ascertained to some extent from the present form of worship current in village level. Though the village life has been changed to a greater extent, still religious belief and the form of worship have signs of their antiquarian character. It would be seen that almost all villages of India have their patron deities of Saivite group. D. D. Kosambi summarising the village level of worship says that the lowest castes often preserve tribal rites, usages and myths. A little higher up we see these religious observance and legends in transition, often by assimilation to other parallel traditions. Another step above, these have been rewritten by Brahmins to suit themselves, and to give the Brahmin caste predominance in the priesthood. Still higher we come to know the Hindu culture, that often goes back to much older times.[20] Common people, generally, observe crude form of worship and a few advanced people observe the impersonal god. So, the worshippable has been a place, an image, a shrine and a state of consciousness. In case of a place the man becomes a pilgrim, in case of an image the man establishes various kinds of emotional relations ; in case of a temple the man leads from myriad of innocence to knowledge and in case of consciousness, the man surrenders his all to the deity. In the later, deities are expressed in some sort of syllabic form and in every case, faith and love become essential part. In crude method of worship, the invocation is done in honour of the patron deities to descend to the altar.

Pilgrim Place

The Indian religious system prescribes that life is a pilgrimage and from birth to death many stations are there. The release from all conditions and limitations of present life is the ultimate object of sectarian religions. In some religions final release is achieved after death, but in Saivism it is achieved in present life. So it stresses much on knowledge of the realisation of the Self. To a great mass of people, who are unable to make them fit for realisation of the self, there is another road for them called pilgrim place, (khetra or tirtha). So pilgrim places have been distributed throughout the country, from which some have been recorded in the mythologies and some are in tradition.

The Revakhanda and the Kasikhanda of the Skanda Purana glorify Revatirtha and Kasitirtha respectively. The Vanaparvan of the Mahabharata has contributed seventy six chapters (Ch. 80-156) to describe pilgrimage of Yudhisthira. The Brahma Purana has contributed sixty nine chapters (Ch. 109-178) to describe the quintessence of pilgrimage. So also 108th chapter of the Agni Purana is the index of places of pilgrimage in India.[30] The Garuda Purana, I-XVI.14 enumerates seven cities as givers of release. The Matsya Purana (Ch. XIII. 26-54 ; CII. 3-5 and CVI. 53) describes three and a half times ten millions of Tirthas in heaven, earth and atmosphere. Saiva tradition popularised the special potency of certain places in India resulting from the fall to the earth of the dismembered body of the dead Satī. Where her parts came to lie, the energy associated with the special part of the body was added to the earth, strengthening that particular spot and leading to an attainment of the corresponding faculty by man. Distributed in fifty one centres the power of Mahāsatī is integrated in the soil of India. The realisation of the descent of more than human power to earth makes India a sacred land. The sacred geography of India recognises the whole country as a field of more than human activity. It is carried by the rivers, from the celestial region where they have their prototype and origin, down to the earth.[31] The entire country was swayed away by the Saiva tradition of body-cult. So among all the places of pilgrim, there evolved the Tirtha of the mind (manasatirtha) which was held high. It was deep, clear and pure. A dip in its water could bring release to the pilgrims. The Brahmanic system of worship caused expansion of body-cult to the potent sites where gods were told at play. "Play is the modality in which the Supreme Spirit displays his presence in the world. It is in its effortless movement and in the perfection of corresponding forms. There is no other reason for the appearance of the world than that which is in Brahman itself."[32]

The banks of the rivers, lakes, and on the seashore, at the confluence of the rivers and estuaries, hill-tops, forests, hermitages and any other lovely places were selected for pilgrim-place. Every pilgrim-place was accompanied with a water-shed for bath which indicates the influence of Śivayoga. So, the Bouddha Siddhas, the Saiva Nathas and the Vaisnava Santhas were tempted towards the doctrine of Pinda-Brahmanda (Body-Cosmos). One's own body was the place of pilgrimage to them. Still the Brahmanic places of pilgrimage are there for many, literate and illiterate.

Image and Temple Worship

Ritually, the installation of an image and erection of temple were essential factors of worship. References to image, temple and priest are found in the Adbhuta Brahmana, the Gṛhasutra and the Dharmasutras. The archaeological record is quite consistent with the literary records. During the Sunga rule an image of Pancamukhalinga has been discovered from Bhita, near Allahabad and an image of Śiva has been discovered also from Gudimallam of Andhra Pradesa. There is no evidence of welcome of the images. So it may be a fact that these images have been grown up in traditional usages. Pt. S. Ayangar, S. Radhakrishnan and A. K. Coomara Swamy are of strong opinion that the system was in Dravidian culture.[33]

The temple where the deity is consecrated and the sacrificial carved stone or wood installed outside form the subtle or gross bodies of the divinity, and these are meant for the devotees to feel and experience the spiritual needs. So the science of temple is owed much to the tantric theology. In tantric sense the temple is the Yantra where a particular form of cosmic vibration is produced. The tantric method which makes the temple potent with the particular Mantra (hymn) assumes great importance for the devotees. The idea of residence of god has, perhaps, an ancient origin and this has reference to the Atharva Veda XI. 9.1. The temple worship, as D. N. Jha remarks, increased immensely from the 6th Century A.D. and the system led kings and mercantile guilds to grant lands for their maintenance.[34] As a result, many Vedic Brahmanas were led to adopt the prevailing crude practice for their own benefit.

To see the image and the temple of god become a rule of worship for the common people.

Mental Worship of Deity

In the prevedic days there was worship of Linga, symbolising the Sun. Sometimes, the greatest gods were worshipped less. So, the Vedic seers were saying "na tasya pratimā asti Yasyanāma mahadyasah" (Yaju. 32.3). But from the manner of invocation of each of the gods prompted the artists to create images of them during following ages. The Vedic literature indicated guide line of worship as faith. The Isavasyopanisad says : in order to get material benefit one can worship gods, pitrus and even a man he likes. Worshipping in such a way he can get only one benefit, but worshipping immortal god he can get many benefits. (Isa. 10, 11). In the Bruhadaranyaka Upanisad it is said that the spirit, the intelligence and the wisdom dwell upon god. The power of god is an inferior aspect. Instead of power, each god as part or manifestation of the Supreme, is equally endowed with the attributes of Sat, Cit and Ananda. (Br. 4.4.2). The mythologies deal with gods as springs of all love. The Gītā prescribes the worship of gods according to the inherent temperament of the man. A man of *Sāttvika* disposition worships god, the man of *Rājasika* disposition worships Yaksas and Raksasas, and the man of *Tāmasika* disposition worship spirits and ghosts. (XVII. 4). In the Gītā, the perfect worship is that in which there is implicit obedience to the liturgical canons and there is free exercise of faith. Worship is to be conducted with the acts of sacrifice, gift and penance with utterance of 'Om'. This type of worship is limited to those who are entitled to chant the Vedas. (XVII. 24). But in practical use, we see that while some emphasise on power, some on wisdom and others on love and faith.

The Vedic and the Smarta forms of worship do not count much in common usage. Worship in use has been oriented in tantric form which has more emphasis on techniques of worship sharpened by love and faith. The techniques of tantric worship draw a larger section of people to its fold. In the tantric system, the most sacred formula of worship are recitation of *bījamantra, prāṇāyāma, dhyāna, japa, kavaca,* etc. and these form the scope of mental worship and external worship. Whatever, food or drink, offered is purified by the recitation of "Namah Śivāya" or of Brahma-mantra, "Om Sacchidekam Brahma". The tantric form of worship has been popularised through the Puranic literature. Among all the Puranas, the Vayu, the Bhagavata, the Viṣnu and the Markandeya have no mention of tantric worship. The tantric worship has been documented in the Agni, the Garuda, the Śiva, the Linga, the Devi Bhagavata and in the Upapuranas. In the Saivite Puranas, as regards Śiva worship, much stress has been given on the recitation of *bījamantra, "Namah Śivāya"*. The Linga Purana, which is said to be the philosophical document of Saivism, has debarred Śūdras and women from worship. Though, in this respect, it follows the Smarta creed, the method of worship has been modelled on tantric line.[36] There is prescription of Śiva worship as that "one *mandala* (altar) is to be drawn with rice-powder. The *mandala* should be one cubit in length and one cubit in breadth. Within the square one lotus is to be drawn up with eight petals. In the centre Śiva with Mahāmāyā should be placed and in the petals *Astasambhus* with their female energies should be placed. Before the commencement of Śiva worship, Sun worship should be observed. (Ch. 89 and 90).

The manner of Śiva worship is different in the Śiva Purana. It allows all irrespective of caste, creed and colour. In this Purana the recitation of *bījamantra 'Namah Śivāya'* has been held high above all other steps.[37] The mystics have attached much importance on it and to them, each letter stands for one primordial principle of creation i.e. 'Na' symbolises earth with a □ square ; 'Ma' symbolises water with a crescent ☽ 'i' symbolises fire with a △ triangle ; 'Va' symbolises air with ✡ two triangles, one upon the other ; and 'Ya' symbolises sky with a ○ circle.[38] The Śiva Purana, Vayaviya Samhita, (Ch. 21.24) prescribes the method of Linga worship. It requires *Pancagavya* and *Vilvapatra* for worship. Generally, Śiva worship is observed with these offerings reciting the *bījamantra* and the devotees offer a light. This simple method of worship brings two groups of people, men of emotions, children and adults with childish mentality, to one level. The simple and mechanical measures arouse emotions which are essential parts of worship. They all enjoy a vegetative satisfaction by observing mechanical measures or Upacāras consisting of pādya (water), gandha (sandal), puṣpa (flower), dhūpa (incense), dīpa (light) and naivedya (food).

Śiva in the Religious Scene of Polytheism, Henotheism and Monotheism

The social ceremonies and rituals of worship come out of religious belief. Ordinarily, faith in the religious concept conveys an idea of reliance. In fact, the faith of the early man was non-scientific judgements and so, religion was polytheistic, henotheistic and monotheistic till Śiva appeared in the scene.

The primitives had no religion in strict sense of the term. But they had religious ideas and cult-spots with the bundle of superstitions, myths and rituals which were frequently assuming horrible and fantastic forms. This peculiar cultural flow was there from the Indus region to the Southern India. As Raymond and Bridget Allchin analysed the Indian Stone Industry and pointed out, the homogenous cultural field had oval-size circles, non-geometric stone assemblage, and microlithic industry consisting of lunates, crescents, scrapers, trapezes and triangles.[40] These were in different places of India since 5500 B.C. The growth of form in primitive society was the growth of virtual information of early religion of Phallism and its mystic form. The growth of numerical figure and difference in forms of religion took a definite state round about third millenium B.C.

In that stage of religious development neither polytheism nor henotheism had any greater base, rather these were in monotheistic veil. Still monotheism was in experimental stage. In the Indus Valley, Śiva was exalted to the position of Isvara. The primitives were in search of a Supreme God.[41] Still the idea of monotheism was not fulfilled completely till the end of the Vedic age. In the Ṛg. Veda we would see that Gathi Kausika in III. 20.3 and Gṛtsamad in II. 1.3 were seeking one god of gods. The monotheism insisted upon one god. It is a system based on the fact that the whole universe can be reduced to one stuff. But the Vedic seers thought of their gods to be the Ultimate Power and in many occasions, it would also be seen that the same seer invoked more than one god thinking each to be the Ultimate Power. This tendency is polytheistic. The difference between these two ideas is that while the monotheistic god remains far away, the polytheistic god becomes nearer and dearer one. The henotheism stands a bridge between them and so, Max Muller characterised Vedic religion as henotheism. The henotheism is a religious belief of one god, but the same god is not god of gods. The henotheism in religion has no other utility than an experiment for Ultimate God. In ancient days these were divisions of theism. In theistic systems, the essential thing is not the existence of the deity, but its power to transform man. A theistic faith recreates and purifies a man in the light of higher truth.[42] In this light we may say that Śiva appeared as a theistic exponent of religion and he had established Transcendental Spiritism among phallic worshippers. A myth is there in the Puranic literature that Śiva had killed Bhaga (Sūrya) and he became Bhaga (Infra, Ch. III). It may be a fact that Śiva, by the merit of his austerity, had brought phallism to his scope. No doubt, his doctrine of Transcendental Spiritism had a strong impact in the Vedic age and later too. These two principal Saiva ideals might have created divisions among the later Saivas having exchange of mannerisms.

Ancient Saiva Sects

Śiva cult was upheld by the Vrātyas and the Bhāgavatas in the remote past. The Vrātya hymns in the Atharva Veda suggest the presence of a Śiva cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic world. The Vrātya hymns show the extravagant respect towards Rudra, Īśāna, Mahādeva and Vrātyadeva. To them they are manifestations of Ekavrātya. They were monotheists and in this respect they were more prominent than their Aryan counter-parts.[43]

Vrātya means self-purified (Prasnopanisad, II, 11). It was the pre-Vedic Saiva creed. They were a class of religious adepts found mentioned as Kesins in the Atharva Veda and as Munis in the Ṛg. Veda. Encyclopaedia Britannica mentions about them that they were wandering hieroplants. They were travelling from place to place with an apprentice and with a woman who appear to have been used for ritual prostitution. Flagellation and other forms of self-mortification seem to have been part of their routine. They used to wear black and white garments with ram skins over their shoulders and to carry a particular kind of bow.[44] Most probably, Vrātyas were driven out from the Indus Valley by the conquerors during 1800 B.C. and they had moved throughout India. They were proto-type of the Kāpālika Sect.[45] The Kāpālikas were put down by Gunaratna as atheists. They were the descendants of the primitive tradition of human sacrifice. The Aghoras of the Vāmācārī tantric foundation were called Kāpālikas. Primarily, they were recognised by six dresses—the necklace, the gold ornament, the ear-ring, the head-jewel, the ashes and the sacred thread. During the Christian era this sect got sectarian status to be mentioned in literature and in temple architecture.

The term, Bhāgavata may be the synonym of 'phallic' of English. Patanjali mentioned that the Śiva Bhāgavatas were wandering about with iron tridents in hand. All exponents of phallic worship were, perhaps, Bhāgavatas. It seems, for its popularity, Viṣnu and the Buddha were bound to be known as Bhāgavatas. It has given rise to Daṇdin sect later. S. P. Tewari on the basis of conversation between Viṭa and Diṇdi from the Pada-taditakam of Syamilaka says that Viṭa rebukes Diṇdi with a pinching nick-name—"Namostu Bhagavate". Though the popular meaning of 'Bhagavate' is salutation to Buddha, the meaning intended here for the Viṭa is for one, whose mind remains always around the private parts (bhaga) of a lady. The peculiarity of this drama is that it deals with all such dirty nick-names where established terms and addresses from religion and philosophy are used and interpreted in satirical vein. The Diṇdikas have also the bad habits. Bhāgavatas are Diṇdikas in the same sense. They enjoy writing dirty jokes and making filthy drawings in public places.[46] Diṇdika is a contemptuous term for goondas and undesirable elements who were indulging in robbery, theft and so many illegal activities. A remnant of this word which still retains its meaning is noticed in Gujarati where they have been *Dandyas* meaning goondas. Diṇdikas were also good in the art of seducing a girl, a lady or a prostitute.[47] There was a sect named Choksha among the Bhāgavatas. This sect has been mentioned in the Padma prabhritakam of Sudraka as "Chauksha-Vadita" and also in the Natyasastra of Bharata as "Choksesu ksetriyesu ca". According to Abhinavagupta, Chokshas were the same as Ekayanah. S. P. Tewari relates 'Ekāyanah' with Ekāntin of the Bhagavata Purana.[48] It is very likely 'Ekayanah' and Ekāntin are related to Ekavrātya, and Bhāgavata, Daṇdins or Daṇdikas and Choksha are related to Vrātyas, because they all possess, more or less, same characteristics. They have also similar characteristics with Śiśna-devas, Ka-Lingas and Dambu-Udras. The term 'Chokhā' is a very familiar word used in colloquial Oriya and 'Dandayātrā' is a folk-festival in Orissa (Infra, Ch. III). These sects had not any definite organisations. Its reason may be that the Saivism, prior to the beginning of reformation in Buddhism, during the initial stage of Christian era, was more traditional than documentary. Among the Vedic seers, Angirasas and Vasisthas, among the seers of the Upanisadas, Yajnavalkya and Sveta, among the philosophers, Gautama and Kanada and among the literary creators, Panini and Pingala had definite traces of Saiva creed, but they were not in any definite sect. It was Lakulisa who was the organiser of the sectarian order round about beginning of the Christian era. His Pāśupata system was in vogue in Kashmir. It was also traditional at the beginning and Sivasrikantha put the canons of Pāśupata system in his Agamata sect. Kaundinya had written a commentary, Pancartha Bhasya within 4th to 6th century A.D. He had not dealt with the philosophy of Pāśupata system, but had dealt with its rituals and austerities. After him, Haradutta had written Ganakarika which is regarded as the comprehensive text of the Pāśupata Sect.[49] This sectarian order got great impetus in South India through the Nayanar sect from 500-800 A.D. In course of time, this Neo-Saivism was divided into many organisations with some definite ideology. Bhamati in his Brahma Sutra II. 2.37 has mentioned the names of four sects : Saiva, Pāśupata, Kārunika Siddhāntin and Kāpālika. Bhaskaracarya in his commentary of the Brahmasutra has changed Kārunika Siddhāntin to Kathaka Siddhāntin. Srinivasa in his Vedanta Kaustubha and Vedottama in his Pancaratrapramanya had added a new name of

Kālāmukha in place of Karunika Siddhantin. Viragama refers to four sects, Sāmānya Śaiva, Pūrva Śaiva, Miśra Śaiva, and Śuddha Śaiva. The Linga Purana (Ch. IX) refers to Vāma, Pāśupata, Soma, Lāngala, Bhairava, Kapāla and Lakula.

It would be seen that from the period of Gupta rule the Śaiva sects began to increase in number. Among them Vīra Śaivas and Natha Śaivas have great impact on social conduct.

Conclusions

The savages had no clear conceptions about god, worship and religion. Spirits, malevolent and benevolent, and the abodes of Spirits were gods to them. So gods were numerous. They were nomads. They were offering the surplus of their gathered food to their gods while change of place was necessitated. Their worldly ideas developed. The food-gatherers became food-producers. They got settled habitations. They searched after patron deities. The Mother-Earth and the Sun quenched their thirst. The Mother-Earth containing the Sun within became the guardian deity and the deity of food-production. Phallism, which may be recognised as Bhagavatism, became a strong religious cult.

In the Indus Valley, in this social condition, Proto-Śiva and Ambā appeared. They became adepts in tantra and Hathayoga. The patriarchy dominated over matriarchy. By dint of perfection they became substitutes of the Sun and the Mother-Earth. As a result, transcendental spiritism and phallism became the main characteristics of Śiva and Ambā. They were theists. The theism had divisions: polytheism, henotheism and monotheism. The monotheistic idea stood as a type by itself. It brought release, the chief aim of the people, in lifetime. In monotheism god was far away from the devotee, in henotheism god was one, but not god of gods, and in polytheism god was nearer and dearer one. Śiva-Yoga provided three greater gods called Triad. Triad formed from Babylonian Trigon and Triple-frons of Proto-Śiva. Śiva became the fourth entity from whom Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra came forth representing the principal elements of Hathayoga, the air (water), the fire and the combination of the two. The latter came as a microcosm of the fourth entity.

Saivism was established and it remained in traditional form. It was upheld by Vrātyas, Angirasas and Vasisthas. During the later age, Vrātyas turned into Bhāgavatas or Daṇdins. These ancient Śaiva sects had not any organisation and any definite philosophy rather than practice of transcendental spiritism and phallic rituals. Though Panini, Pingala, Kanada, Gautama, Yajnavalkya, Sveta had definite traces of Saivism, they were not attached to any such organisation. The definite Śaiva organisation was founded by Lakulisa and it was Pasupata system. During the Gupta age and later, the Pasupata system gave rise to many other sects, of which Natha sect had greater social impact.

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2

Growth of Śiva Cult

IN the history of Śiva cult, Proto-Śiva and Rudra-Śiva are very meaningful terms. Sometimes these two terms create an impression that Proto-Śiva is the source of origin and Rudra-Śiva is the source of development of Puranic-Śiva. But it seems Proto-Śiva was sufficient on to him, Rudra became his power within and Puranic-Śiva became the embodiment of their mythic corroborations. When Śiva has been accepted as a man-god, he should have whereabouts and when the conception of Rudra has been a departure from the prevailing deductions of his being natural phenomena, it should have also feasibility. In this Chapter we have looked into these aspects. Moreover, we have made efforts to trace out his philosophy and his position in tantric-lore of India. Rudra has become the personification of his spirit which has brought Jīvanmukti resulting in Rasa (aesthetic pleasure). So, Śiva and Rudra were non-dual and they achieved detachment through attachment.

Statuary of Proto-Śiva, Śiva and Rudra

Among various seals of Proto-Śiva discovered from Mahenjo-daro and Harappa, the seal No. 17 of Plate XII seems to be important, particularly, for reading, characteristic features of Proto-Śiva. Proto-Śiva in the seal is found three-faced, seated on a low throne in an attitude of practising austerity with legs bent double and toes turned down. He has his arms out-stretched and thumbs touching the knees. A pair of horns meet at the bottom of a tall head-dress. There are four animals—an elephant and a tiger on his right side, and a rhinoceros and a buffalo on his left, and two deer stand under the throne. Particularly, this seal bears an inscription of seven letters at the top.[1] He is nude and is with erect penis.[2]

Puranic-Śiva became God of destruction, reproduction and preservation. So in the architecture, iconography and literature he is presented as a man with five faces and four arms. He is recommonly seen seated in a profound thought, with a third eye in the middle of the fore-head, contained in or surmounted by the crescent moon. His eyes are invariably closed. His matted locks are gathered up into a coil like horn, which bears upon it a symbol of the river Gangā ; a necklace of skulls hangs round his neck, and serpents twine about his neck as a collar. His neck is blue and he holds a trident, a drum, a deer and a bow in his hands. His garment is the skin of a tiger, a deer or an elephant. He is generally accompanied by his bull, Nandī.

So also, Rudra, in the Ṛk. Samhita, is a terrific god whose wrath is to be appeased by offerings. In the Ṛk. Samhita he has been invoked in about fifty hymns. In these hymns the characteristics of Rudra are seen as follows :

1. *Ṛk. II. 33* : Savior of evil(3) ; fulfiller of desire,(7) ; magician(13) ; Vajra in hand(3) ; polished belly, nice nose, tawny-brown colour(5) ; bright complexion(7) ; terrific and strong and ever-changing appearance(9) ; bow and arrow man(10).

2. *Ṛk. VII. 46* : Unconquerable, bow and arrow man(1) ; rich in material and spiritual wealth(2) ; and medicine man(2, 3).

3. *Ṛk. 1.114* : Genius, heterogenous motion(3) ; spirited(4) ; medicine man(5) ; father of Maruts(5) ; and cattle guard(9).

4. *Ṛk. VII. 59.12* : Tryambaka and medicinal power.

The above figure will show the characteristic features of Proto-Śiva, Śiva and Rudra from images and literary descriptions. Each dress and each position are attributive. In this point of view, attributes of one god are not exactly the same as that of the other, but among them a Yogic-practice, and some influence from outside and inside are evident. These common features support the view that Proto-Śiva is Śiva in true sense of the term and Rudra is his power within.

Proto-Śiva and Śiva are one and the same

The term, Proto-Śiva may form an idea that the Indus-Yogi has been recognised by the connotation and denotation of the Puranic Śiva and if there were no such God named Śiva in the literature in India, the Indus-Yogi would have not been identified. But the period in which the figurine and the inscriptions were there the recognition of a god by name was not impossible. It is astonishing that the scholars of Indology very often recognise him Proto-Śiva and at the same time, they also recognise Ambā as Mother-Goddess. It is a fact that by the middle of the third millenium B.C. the Indus region was the easternmost border of South-East Asia. During that period, even in Eurasia there was no such god or goddess who had no name. So the contemporary religious situation prevailed throughout Greece, Egypt, and Babylone does not suit to the idea of our 'Proto-Śiva' and 'Mother-Goddess'. In comparing Śiva with Noah of Mesopotamia, Sabazius of Thraco-Phrygian land and Osiris of Egypt, one may be compelled to say that the former was in a developed stage of Yogic practice and so, he succeeded others. Noah had lived a long life (supra, Ch. I). Sabazius was conceived in animal form and particularly, he was accompanied with a snake. He was worshipped for his mysterious deeds.[3] There was a god named, Seva in Egypt who had a necklace of snake.[4] In about 2600 B.C., the 6th ruling dynasty ended in Egypt. All of a sudden Osiris rose in the realm of religion. He became universal judge after death. The most powerful princes of Egypt fell under the sway of him. He made people understand that the acts of this life determine one's position after death.[5] He was worshipped in Egypt in a position of penis erectus and moreover, he was treated as a phallic god.[6] Benjamin Rowland, on the basis of arts and architecture of the Indus Valley, says that the civilisation flourished there in about 2500 B.C.

and it lasted about 800 years.[7] In this respect he seems to be justified. All these might have influenced Śiva to be connected with Yoga and snake. The Indus civilisation presided over by Śiva gives the airs of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic character which has evolved much later than Cretan, Egypt and Mesopotamian civilisations. Still Cole and Warren say that 'though it is difficult to have a clear idea of debt, it is sure that more or less Sumerians, Hittites, Syrians, Hebrews, Hurrians, Medes and Persians in the Near East and beyond the borders of Near East other related countries like India owe much to Cretan culture'.[8] Their view relates to the fact that in India the practice of Yoga and tantra had an older tradition and Śiva might have come out of that tradition.

The principal image of Śiva in the Indus Valley had no connection with snake. But there were other images with Yogic pose which were connected with snake. One seal was there representing a man sitting in a Yogic pose, hooded by a serpent and he was attended by two Nisadas.[9] Snake was associated with Seva, Sabazius and Śiva. One reason of such association is that in those days the snake was the cruelest among all ferocious animals. Snake-charming and snake-coercing may come under the scope of austerity. So the man-gods were in possession of snake ornaments and that has come to Puranic Śiva. There are other seals with some other significance. The eminent scholar, Pran Nath has deciphered men with Homo-signs of ovals and they have been identified with Isara or Isah, the popular names of Śiva. He says that the cult of Supreme Being by Homo-sign came from Northern Europe to India. He discovered four Lapp gods with rayed heads, above which were crescent moons.[10] There was another seal representing a male deity whose upper parts were human but whose lower part was a long coiled serpent.[11] Pran Nath has identified him with Accadian deity, Serah who is synonymous with Sarva, a chief god of the Vrātyas. Further the term, 'Sara' has also been deciphered by Pran Nath as a synonym of Śiva in the Indus Seals and it has been taken by the Vedic seer, Grtsamad for Indra. Ramakrushna Acharya analysing the term 'sarva' of Ṛk. II. 12.10 ("amanyamanan sarva") says that it has been derived from 'saru' which is in use as sara.[12] Here Sarva means Vajra. While Indian mythologies record about Śiva being Bhaga, an appellation or manifestation of the Sun, we may say that the seals under reference were there representing the transition. The seal with human and serpent may be taken either for the Sun and the Earth or for Śiva and Ambā combined together for Bhagavatism.[13] In the Brahmanas, Sarpa has been taken as Prithivi—"Iyam Vai sarpā rājni" (A.B. 5.23) and "deva Vai sarpā" (T.B. 5.2.6.2). In this way phallic traits, snake and crescent of the Puranic Śiva have come from the Proto-Śiva. Puranic Śiva has mystic symbols like five heads, third eye and erect penis. Mystic symbols in various ways were added to him, while he was exalted to the position of Ultimate Being, which may be referred to Isara, (Isvara) and to erect penis of his image. The basic concept of Oriental aesthetic was that of mystic symbolism. Mysticism is, generally, regarded as a temper and a mood rather than a systematic philosophy of life. It has apprehensions of divine reality behind and within the ordinary world of sense perception. So, in the archaeological remains of the non-geometric and geometric figures, and of the image of Proto-Śiva and Puranic Śiva erotic features have been impressed widely under mystic veils. Mysticism has been developed with certain change in its organism, still one stage becomes tradition for the other. In this view, some of the mystic symbols of Puranic Śiva have come out of the penis erectus of Proto-Śiva which was responsible of his being Isvara. The feasibility of making the penis erectus depends upon the personality and practice. So it is not common to all such Hathayogis. Most probably, the stage of penis erectus comes in certain stage of practice. So the Saivas make it as their own, for in this stage a change in personality takes place. Beyond Hathayoga there comes Rajayoga. All others in the line of Hathayoga reaching the higher stage do not commemorate the stage of change, but the higher one. It is evident among the Tirthankaras, and the Bouddhas. We should not also expect that religious standard was prevailed thousands of years before the Buddha and the Tirthankaras It would have not held the same attraction and appeal for the intellectuals. But the stage is remained memorable for the Saiva exponents of the later age.

The erect penis symbolises Urddhvareta or upward streaming of the reproductive essence for effecting transformation of consciousness. Carl F. F. Von Weizscker and Gopikrishna say that the evolutionary force functions in two separate stages ; but in general, the suppression of sexuality reproduces the developed descendants of less developed. In that stage of ability of suppression the Yogi may face the danger of the phenomenon of the penis erectus. It is said that there are three channels through which the sexual potency located in the close proximity to the sex organ rises up. These are, i.e. (a) the *Suśumna,* the central nerve, (b) the *Pingalā,* the right nerve and (c) the *Iḍā*, the left nerve. The Pingalā is called the Sun, the heat and excitement ; the *Iḍā* is called the moon, the coolness and the restraint. In the first occasion the hot-side of one's physical make-up is likely to be overactive. So he is needed to concentrate on left side till equilibrium comes in. Gopikrishna, a living Hathayogi, describes his experience as he gained during his long years of practice :—"During the course of these amateurish trials, a most remarkable coincidence must have occurred somewhere with the appearance of the strange phenomena in one already mature to some extent for the experience, resulting in the discovery of one of the greatest secrets of nature hidden in the body of man."[14] The matted lock symbolises the inner illumination gained by Śiva. The later exponents have placed Gangā in his matted lock as a substitute of water or air essential for maintaining equilibrium in Yogic practice. The tall head-dress of Proto-Śiva has become the matted lock of Puranic Śiva. The symbols representing heat and cold, which arose out of the practice of Śivayoga, created a tradition in all later. Śiva worship just like a mare of fire and water.[15] James Tod has seen the presence of Gangā in the same light. To him Gangā on the head of Śiva is the same as Nile on the head of Osiris. About the presence of crescent he says that it is with him as a satellite as he represents the Sun. Again he has changed his view about Gangā and says that the river, Gangā is known as Jambunadi, which means that the colour of the water was like that of Jambu fruit. The fall and flow of the stream indicates the time-gap between the availability of silver and gold in the Āryāvarta. Gangā was, for many years, within the folds of the tiara of Śiva and she being liberated gold was discovered in the rocks of the Ganges.[16]

As like as Gaṅgā, the absence of bull with Proto-Śiva makes a difference between him and Puranic Śiva. The bull is an important figure in the company of Puranic Śiva. The bull on which Śiva rides is called Nandī. He appears independent in the seals of the Indus culture. He is also found worshipped in South India in Neolithic age without any rider-god. K. C. Chattopadhyaya identifying Vṛṣākapi in Ṛk. X.86 holds that it is a compound word which means a potent tawny coloured animal or a brown bull. In case of breeding, Vṛṣa has been taken as a figurative expression of the Sun, Rudra, Soma, Indra and Agni.[17] In the Ṛk. II.33 the term Vṛṣabha is used five times to Rudra. It means the bull was associated with the phallic deities during the Vedic age for agriculture. Since that age, Nandī is seen everywhere attached to the shrine of Śiva in a manner as Mneves or Apis to Osiris in Egypt.

The bull was also bled in the altar of Mithra in South-East Asia and Mithra was a phallic deity. It is believed that the association of bull with Sun-god, Śiva was effected more in India by the influence of the ruling chiefs of South-East Asia. Many associates of Puranic Śiva have come from Proto-Śiva and Vedic Rudra. So, the prefix, 'proto' does not hold much significance in the concept of Śiva.

Significance and Antiquity of the Name, Śiva

Prior to attach any importance to the name, Śiva in the Puranic literature, we believe he was most prominent in the Indus Valley. Rather it is doubtful if Śiva was the name of the Yogi or else it was used as an attribution to such a Yogi. This doubt is evident in the decipherment of Pran Nath of the Indus seals :—

Indus	*Inscription*	*Names referred to*	*Names in the Indian literature*
201	Gu-si-Vah	Siva	Śiva
91	Isana-isar	Isana	Īśāna
556	Gu-siva-gu-isah-ma	Siva	Śiva

Indus Inscription		*Names referred to*	*Names in the Indian literature*
245	Gu-sar-isar	Isarra	Śrīśa
536	Gu-sivah-ma isar	Siva, Isar	Śiva, Maheśwara
537	Sisnna	Sisna	Śiśna
459	Ni-isa-sarra	Sarra	Śara
154	Gu-sarra-ma	Sarra	Śara

(This extract has been taken from the "The Indian Historical Quarterly", Vol. VII, No. 1, March, 1931, p. 782).

These are the names used as synonyms of Śiva in literature. But the presence of 'Śiva' among them in the inscriptions may support the view that they all were used as attributions to a Yogi meditating on a popular deity in the Indus Valley and most probably, the deity was Serah or Ceing of the Nisadas. We have discussed about Serah. It is very difficult to ascertain the relation between Serah and Ceing. Among all attributions, it seems Śiva was the most prominent for which it was used as an adjective of attribute in the Vedic hymns detailed below :—

Seer	*God*	*Hymn*
Angirasa	Agni	"devānambhava śivasakhā" (Ṛk. I. 31.1)
Grtsamad	Indra	"sakha 'śiva naramastu" (Ṛk. II. 20.3)
Vasistha	Indra	"Visaninah śivasah" (Ṛk. VII. 18.7)
Vasistha	Visvedeva	"sakhayan kṛdhva śivo na astu" (Ṛk. VII. 34.15)
Devatithikanva	Indra	"Asmakan pusannavila śiva bhava" (Ṛk. VIII. 4.18)
Kanva	Agni	"Śiva duto Vivasvato" (Ṛk. VIII. 39.3)
Sukaksa	Indra	"sa na indra śivaḥ sakhā" (Ṛk. VIII. 93.3)
Pragatha Kanva	Indra	"Vaksanih śiva arkasya" (Ṛk. VIII. 63.4)

Seer	*God*	*Hymn*
Vamadeva Endra	Soma	"Śiva sakhā" (Ṛk. X. 25.9)
Angirasa	Vayu	"Śiva devo vahasva" (Ṛk. VIII. 26.23)
Dirghatama	Agni	"śivebhirnah pāyubhih" (Ṛk. I. 143.8)

Still the use of 'Śiva' as a personal noun was not quite foreign to the seers of the Ṛk. Veda. In the last hymn 'śivebhih' has been used as the plural number of third case-ending. Besides, the battle between Sudas and ten-kings federation is famous in the Ṛk. Veda and in that federation Śiva was one of the kings.[18] Again, to the Dravidas Śiva was Cēyōn and he was deemed as the highest god. K. S. Pillai considers the term as a derivative from the qualitative word, Semmai.[19] The Vrātyas are found invoking Bhava, Sarva, Rudra and Pasupati to be 'Sadāśivah' (A.V. XI. 6.9). According to Rowland the Indus religion was succeeded by an inferior and very obscure culture known as Jhkar.[20] It is very likely the Dravida was a cultural group and the Vrātyas were a religious group and both of the two groups were evolved from the Nisada stock and they were evacuated by the Jhkars. It is known that in this long standing background of the term, Śiva being used as a personal noun and as a qualitative or attributive adjective, it got a strong base to be used as a personal noun in the Taittiriya Samhita, i.e. "namah śivāya ca sivataraya ca" (T.S. VIII. 5.4.1). Here a question may arise as that if the term had a background of being personal noun, why did many of the Vedic seers use it in the sense of qualitative or attributive? It is a fact that the seers shown above were exponents of Saivism in the Vedic age and by that time the connotation and denotation of the name had widely been increased to be used as qualitative adjective. It can be seen in the scope of the term, 'Gāndhi'. 'Gāndhi' was the surname of Mohandas Karamchand and its connotation was very limited. It was increased a lot for his political policy of Satyagraha, a combination of two Sanskrit words, translated as "soul force" or "the force which is born of truth and love or nonviolence".[21] The term became the vehicle of this attribute of Mohandas Karamchand and people knew him as Gāndhi out of love and Gāndhi stood before them for that attribute. Scope of the term was increased more when it was credited with Khan Abdul Gafur Khan of Pakistan. Gafur Khan was known as Simānta Gāndhi (Gāndhi of Frontier Province) which stood for the same Gāndhian attribute and love of the people. Now Simanta Gāndhi is the living force of Mohandas Karamchand Gāndhi who has gone out. So also the attribution of Śiva was the living force of Śiva of the Indus Valley during the Vedic period. Śiva of the Indus culture was in force throughout ages, but it was only during the reigns of the ruling chiefs of the South-East Asia and of the Imperial Guptas he was veiled in mystery. An assumption may be taken from the home-stead of Śiva.

Mystery of Home-Stead of Śiva

In the mythologies Śiva has become a resident of the Himalayas which has a little correspondence with the name, Girisa of the inscriptions as given above. Girisa does not refer to the Himalayas only, it may refer to any one of the seven Kulācalas,—Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Suktimana, Ruksa, Vindhya, and Pariyatra. These were the abodes of the Nisadas, of which Śiva has been said to have sprung. Of course, the Nisadas did not belong to these mountains of India only, they were primarily the Austric people who were living in a vast area extending over Australia, Eurasia, and Indian Peninsula. In this circumstances, K. R. Subramanian thinks of Śiva to be the Trans-Himalayan god.[22] To this effect, V. S. Agrawala, in his presidential address in the Indian History Congress, 1949, has commented upon a close relation of India with Central Asia. According to him the Muztagh Ata, the Father of Ice mountains was described by Megasthenes as Hemodon and later, Hemodon became Himavant.[23] The opinion of Subramanian might have a correspondence to the various out-landish traits in Indian literature. According to him the Sungas, the Kshatrapas, the Kushanas, the Hunas and the Parthians had contributed a lot to the subjects on military manoeuvres, fortification of monuments, technical texts and literary texts of India. Particularly, gods and goddesses of Greece had their abodes on the mountains. It is not known if Muztagh Ata had any religious background to the Central Asians, but it is possible that the Himalayas got a religious sanction by the influence of the ruling dynasties of that region. The Sungas revived Yajna (sacrifice) in contrast to the Bouddha and the Jaina systems of religious work. The brahmanas got privileges to penetrate into the areas of the tribes and the guild castes. A new epoch was created in the fields of worship, and the gods and goddesses of them were held high. So new scriptures were written for making unassimilable gods and goddesses respectable. Places of pilgrimage were introduced with suitable myths. Śiva was, perhaps, taken into the account of brahmanic gods by that time. By the period of 2nd Century B.C. Bhagavatism was a popular cult and for this reason, Jainism and Buddhism could not thrive. The same position was also prevailing in Central Asia. The whole of Eurasia was fallen into the strong hold of Mithraism. It is possible the Central Asian ruling princes would have been conversant with Mithraism and finding the same religious tendency of the common people they would have encouraged Bhagavatism represented by Śiva and Ambā. Since the Vedic age, Śiśna-devās were not appreciated by many Aryan families. The Tirthankaras and the Buddha had laid greater stress on meditation, not on Hathayoga, which got new dimension during Kushana-Gupta period. Preceding to them, particularly, during Sunga-Satavahana period the phallic representation revived and it was begun to be shown in the uniform of Hathayoga. The Mukhalingas, as we have seen above, come in. It was developed, and during the Kushana-Gupta period Śiva, with erect penis, was seen represented with Umā (Statue, Indian Museum, Calcutta). Though Śiva was a Nisada by birth, got a new generic property of being white like "rajata-giri-nibha" or "sveta-bindu" in Sanskrit Kavya, Purana and Tantric texts. He was made glittered like Trans-Himalayan or like Brahma who is described to be "Ya eko varno Vahudhā saktiyogā varnān anekam nihitārtha dadhāti (Mandukya I.6). The realists saw in him the vital Trans-Himalayan germ of white colour. Certainly, this view of the realists was supported by the fact that Śiva had no whereabouts. On the occasion of his marriage to Pārvatī, Himalaya and Menakā were not willing to give their daughter to Śiva as the latter had neither home nor parentage.[24] It was not only Śiva, all the man-gods lost their whereabouts. All those lost their parentage and home-stead are not worth memorable. But a few are certainly to be traced out. That curiosity is seen in the Vedic hymn—"manonvāh vamahenara samsena pitṛnām ca manmabhih." (Yaju. III.58). It was arisen as because the biographical knowledge of national leaders could lift the mind from myriad of mysterious facts. The earth known to the Vedic seers, Vyasa and Kalidasa, the architects of Indian culture, has now been completely changed and biographical incidences about Śiva have yet been grasped a little which could have been essential factors for regeneration of people's mind.

The home-stead of Śiva is still mysterious. In the Śiva Purana the episode of marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī may throw light on the possible aspect of his home which does not come in the Trans-Himalayan region. At the instigation of Seven-seers and Brahmā the parents of Pārvatī were willing to give their daughter to Śiva, and Śiva was provided with Kailasa as his abode. This may be referred to 'Kailasa-Khanda' between the Sutlej and the Ghagra, covering a mountainous area of the Himalayas. The term, 'Khanda' here has come from Central-Asian culture.[25] So it is simply a development of the Indus 'Girisa' or of 'girisamtābhi'; 'girisamta'; 'śivamgiritra' and 'śivena vacasā tvā girisacha vadāmasi' of T.S. 1.5.4. Of course, Rudra has been mountain-god in the Ṛk. Veda as Śiva was in the Indus Valley. As the episode goes, Śiva can-not belong to the Himalayas. At the first instance he was a Nisada, and the Nisada, signifying a particular cultural strand, had, in ancient time, a particular settlement (Nisadabhumi) between Matsya and Chambal (Mah. Sabha Parvan, 28.5). Connecting mountain to it, we think that a Nisada cultural strand had been evolved in Vindhyacala. So the architects of India made Himalaya and Menaka as representatives of Arya and Nisada respectively. The episode stands a treatise on to the treaty between the Aryas and the Anaryas. Had there been no compromise the two power blocs, the Aryas could not have extended from the Indus Valley. An over-all estimation of the poetic creations of Kalidas would show that his 'Kumarasambhava' is based on Tapa, his 'Raghuvamsa' is based on Tapasvi and his 'Abhijnana Sakuntalam' is based on 'Tapasvini'. In the 'Kumarasambhava' Himalaya consisting of the Ganga-Jamuna Doab, the early home of the Aryas, is masculine and the Mainaka, or the Vindhyacala, the early home of the Nisadas is feminine. The Aryas were preoccupied with the idea of maintaining prestine purity of their blood, but they could not as they fallen prey to austerity of the Nisadas. That is why they saw the Central Indian Woods, hills and rivers are sublime and they create a different adoration. It was their necessity to be ever-youth like Vindhyavasi. For this curiosity the Aryan maidens became too dreadful to live with parents and they ran the risk of becoming love-sick of asceticism.

Kalidas had a first hand knowledge about the social change of India. He knew well that the Kushana kings, Kaniska and Huviska had made the Hindu mind tranquilised by developing the religious system incorporated by the Sungas. The degeneration caused was highly acclaimed. The Nandas and the Mauryas having low origin, and the Central Asian dynastic rulers conceded to the status of Kshatriyas and specially relating religion, they could reconcile political status with ritual status. The Aryan priests accepted the racial, social and cultural diversities and as a result, a living association of all groups was created, and the dark and fair were inter-changed.

There was no white race in India. Now, there are only three physical types seen—black, brown and yellow. Sometimes, the dark and yellow are fairly uniform being a very deep shade of brown. The browns are usually said to be the Caucasoids. Śiva was, perhaps, of brown colour which is referred to Rudra as it has been cited above. The following hymns of the Taittiriya Samhita may support the view that Śiva was a man of Nisadabhumi and he had gone over the Indus region on pilgrimage.

1. "namah srutyāya ca pathyāya ca namah kātyāya ca nipyāya ca namah sudyāya ca sarasyāya ca namo nādyāya ca vaisantoya ca." (4.5.7).

2. "namastirthyāya ca kulyāya ca namah pāryāya cāvāryāya ca namah pratāraṇāya cotarānāya ca nama ātāryāya ca'tādyāya ca namah saspyāya ca phenyāya ca namah sikatyāya ca pravahyāya ca". (4.5.7).

C. Sivaramamurti translates the hymns—"Rudra is ambassador, the envoy, the path finder and the sojourner of the high road. He is attenuated slow running stream and the cascade reaching deep down the mountain slope, muddy marsh, lake and river valley". "Adoration to him of the sacred spots and to him present on river banks, salutation to him at the farthest shore and stationed afar and beyond for contemplation, homage to the ferry to surmount sin and the bridge of knowledge to cross over the misery of cycles of births and deaths, obeisance to him who brings back to life and who causes enjoyment of fruits of action, salutation to him of tender grass on river banks and of riverine foam, respects to him of the sands and of the floods."[26]

Like many scholars, C. Sivaramamurti seems to have shrouded the reality in mystery. In these hymns the foam, the sands, and the cycle of birth and death are much connotative. The foam means the first stage of the formation of earth and the sands mean the second stage.[27] So also, the cycle of birth and death means the changes of life arising out of austerity. These hymns imply that Śiva had visited the sacred place formed newly in the Indus region and particularly, it was the place of pilgrim for the Sun-worship. He stayed in a pasture laying in the river-bank. He had practised Yoga there meditating on Ceing and he had achieved second birth. His second birth had brought a change in his statuary in later age and it is also responsible for the impression of Śiva and Proto-Śiva.

Śiva vis-a-vis Rudra

We have seen as yet that Śiva is more complex and manysided God than any one in the Hindu pantheon. It is a common trend of commentaries that Śiva is the manifestation of Rudra and for this, Śiva has been recognised as Rudra-Śiva. The idea contrasts our deduction of Rudra being the manifestation of Śiva. Śiva was a man-god and had his importance in folk-religion. He was elevated to the position of Isvara even in the Indus civilisation. Such elevation kept him away from the minds of people just like Ceing has been to the Mundas to-day. It is ascertained from Mundari language that Ceing is the Sun, i.e. "*Cingi rākap jenā*" meaning the Sun rises and "*Cingi hāsur jenā*" meaning the Sun sets. The Mundas always worship Ceing as the deity of productions in different forms but they do not worship Ceing directly. Ceing is the greatest of all their gods, but it is not an exaggeration that Ceing is there unworshipped. So also, always there arises a curiosity that the Sun is less invoked in the Ṛk. Veda. Really, though the Sun has been treated as the eyes of all their gods (Ṛk. I-115.1), the seers of the Rk. Veda have invoked such a great God for fourteen times only. Again it would be seen that an idea of greatness of the Sun got documented in the Mandala I which is said to be the later interpolation. The same fate of Śiva is evident in the Ṛk. Veda. With the lapse of about one thousand years Śiva had become Isvara under semblance. The tradition had made him the Creator, but not created. Power of Śiva remained inconceivable and so, he was assumed in different forms—Agni, Indra and Rudra. He was conceived as the world-soul. The phenomenal world was deemed to have proceeded from him. A seal in the Indus Valley reveals the same idea. A god is seen radiating rays from his shoulders.[28]

From this religious idea, we may say that Śiva was both immanent and transcendent during the Vedic period, and his immanent aspects resulted in transcendental aspect. In this age, Agni and Indra were his immanent aspects and Rudra was his transcendental aspect. That is the reason Rudra was, in his initial stage, subordinate in rank as compared to Agni and Indra. It is commonly believed that the Vedic seers had a polytheistic view about the conception of god and so, natural phenomena were deified. This belief about the Vedic seers does not suit the circumstantial evidences found in the Indus region, in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. When the religious and social positions were far ahead, it is not believed that the Vedic seers had gone back in their religious thought. No doubt, the poetic descriptions in the Ṛk. Veda are stereotyped in character. The poetic art is the glorious epoch of India in all ancient literary world. Still, as because it was in its dawn of flourishing, the description of god seems to be immature, but really it is not so. Rather, it is true that the Vedic concept of each God has all the while been endowed with poetic fancies and for this reason, gods have been controversial to the eminent scholars of the East and the West. The truth underneath the concepts of Agni, Indra and Rudra may corroborate our opinion to some extent.

Agni and Indra in the making of Rudra

Agni was the first and the great God for the seers of the Ṛk. Veda. He was revered as the protector of the houses (Ṛk. T.1) and also, was deemed as medicine-man. (Ṛk. I.19 and Ṛk. I.26). His characteristics of having medicinal power, of looking beautiful and of threatening are similar with those of Rudra.

Most of the Agni hymns go to the credit of Bhṛgu and Angirasas. To them Atharvan was a priest who holds a dominant position in the Atharva Veda. Gotama Rahugana praises Atharvana that he is the first seer to begin with Yajnāgni (Ṛk. 1.83.5). As to the origin of Agni it is said that he took birth thrice (Ṛk. X. 45.1). Its first birth came from Prāna, the second from golden-egg and the last from Āpah. These three combined together became Trivrid Agni, i.e. Pavamāna, Pāvaka and Śuci.[20]

It is possible that Agni was worshipped by common people for his all-consuming power as non-Brahmanas of Orissa are used to do as Īśāna. The practice of fire worship can be pushed back to the Indo-European age when people were worshipping Gods presiding over specific department of their activities. But a question may be asked as to why the seers of asceticism worshipped him first of all ? Possibly, they worshipped him for his healing elements. That searching mind may go to the credit of Bhṛgu and Angira. So metaphorically, it is said that they had brought earthly fire. Really, it is not so, because fire had come in use much prior to the dawn of civilisation in human society. So we think that the ascetic-poets were, rather, more concerned to the fire within. While at austerity they might have known Pancreas in their own body. Marcus Gregory in his 'Psychotherapy : Religious and Scientific' remarks elsewhere that an extremely high sugar content in blood is to pronounce psychological symptoms. Often, these start with depression, and continue to confusion and disorientation. The mental illness has been searched to be in highest degree in human body. The chemical balance is necessary for proper functioning of nervous system. It may be effected by Yogic practice. The Pancreas is the fire part of the body. Among various glands the structural view of Pancreas is just like a fire-flame of the world. The Pancreas is controlled by austerity (Tapa) which is fire and also Rudra (Agnivai Rudrah). It has reference to the Ṛk. III.18.2 in which Agni has been invoked in the name of Tapa.

In this sense of austerity Indra precedes Rudra in the Ṛk. Veda. John Dowson recognises Indra as the God of firmament and the personified atmosphere. His forms are endless and he can assume any shape at will, a vigorous god begot him and a heroic female brought him forth. From all these characteristics Indra seems to be a Hathayogi which contrasts the opinion of his being Natural Phenomenon.[30]

In the Ṛk. Veda he has been depicted as the king and man-god. S. Radhakrishnan in his 'Eastern Religion and Western Thought' remarks clearly that Indra has come of an aboriginal stock. Hermann Jacobi connects the term, Indra with the Greek word, aner-man. K. C. Chattopadhyaya shows its glide as to be the genitive form of 'androw' and it is derived from 'andreio' which means courage.[31] His vigorous father, heroic mother and his being courageous lead him to be one like Karttika, off-spring of Śiva and Pārvatī. Karttikeya was accomplished by 'Krauncabhedana'. The term 'Krauncavedana' in the Meghaduta (Purvamegha, 31-47) has been interpreted by S. K. Gupta as perfection of words.[32] In the Puranas he is fighter par excellence.

Among all his appellations, Sunasira, Purandara, Somapa and Vṛttrahan bring him much nearer Śiva and Sūrya rather than Rudra. Indra through his appellation, Sunasira is equated with Śiva and Sūrya—"Sunāśira sita śiva sankhāh" and "suno vayuh, śira sūryah tavasyāsta iti arsaodyaci" (Panini 5.2.127). He is called Somapa as Soma is the intoxicating elixir and he drinks it very often. Soma has been identified with the red mushroom by Wasson and Miss Jean Mulholland. It is a plant with white spots familiar in forests.[33] Drinking of Soma frequently brings Indra to be indulged into ecstacy which is essential for religious genius. It covers a multitude of things like alcoholic intoxication and wild excitement. These familiar features of Indra are spread over the Vedic literature. In this stage Rudra was his custodian of Soma. Rudra is also an associate in Indra's battle against the demons. Here demons are evil-powers seen in the way of Yogic practice and Rudra is his power within.

Like this, his epithets, Vṛttrahan and Purandara may not support the view of Indra being the greatest Śivayogi. These epithets are seen in the Ṛk. II.12. In this Sūkta, Grutsamad makes others acquainted with Indra that who, killing Vṛttra allowed seven rivers flow, who brought out the cows from the fold of the demon, and who brought out fire lying within two stones, is Indra (Ṛk. II.12.3). The scholars are not unanimous in identification of Saptasindhu of the Ṛk. Veda. These are neither referred to Ili, Lepsa, Karatal, Baskan, Aksu, Sarkan and Biyen in Semire-chinsk of Russian Turkestan nor to Gangā, Yamunā, Godavarī, Sarasvatī, Nạrmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī of India, these are referred to seven plexuses of his body. He driving out obstacle (Vṛttra) caused the seminal fluid passed through the plexuses. In medieval esoteric literature the cow is meant for Ātmā. The Yogins release him from Avidyā (Vala). The fire does not concern to Indra. We have told it before-hand. Indra is concerned to fire within the principal nerve, Pingalā. He is not only one Vṛttrahan. Like him, Bhava and Sarva are also told to have killed Vṛttra (A.V. IV.28).

Indra is very popular as Purandara in the Vedic literature and the Puranic literature. The scholars on Vedic literature recognise him as destroyer of citadels in the Indus Valley. The number of citadels he destroyed are ninety-nine. It is simply multiples of three. Indra as Purandara is mentioned in the Ṛk. II.14.6; Ṛk. II.19.6; Ṛk. IV.26.3 and Ṛk. I.50.7. It refers to "Agnipura" rite of Yajurveda II.25 and 26, and of the Satapatha Brahmana 6.3.3.25. The Vedic term, 'Agnipura' is still under clarification. Most probably, it refers to Yogic practice on Recaka, Puraka and Kumbhaka. In this circumstances, Indra's destruction of citadels in the Indus region seems doubtful. In this context, Mr. Wheeler says that "the massacre to have come without and this is not due to later intrusions. Moreover, the Aryans who, nevertheless, like other rude conquerors of a later age, were not proud to learn a little from the conquered.[34] The Ṛk. II.12.14 lends a support to this view. And also Rudra has become 'Tripurahara' in the Taittiriya Samhita 6.2.3 (tām rudra vasrjāt sa tisraḥ puro...). Rather Indra was the protector of pre-Vedic Śiva cult during the age of Vedic India. So Vasistha had equated Indra with Śiśnadeva (Ṛk. VII.21.5) and in the Brahma Purana Śiva was also known in the names of Indra, Mitra and Agni (Ch. 128.27). Still his being the Āryān king and his association with sacrifice may be regarded as bars to his being microcosm of Śiva in the Vedic culture.

Association of Indra with Arya and Yajna

We have told that Indra had come of the aboriginal stock. But in the Vedic literature he was first god among all. Generally, an aborigin is different from an Ārya and the position becomes conspicuous. His home is the same as that of the Aryans. His home is said to be Mount Meru. Baladeva Upadhyaya on the basis of Puranic descriptions identified Mount Meru with Altai mountain in the Western Siberia.[35] Like him the commentators identify "Mount Meru to be the centre of earth. It is believed to be somewhere to the north of the Himalayas".[36] So also the home of the Āryas has been identified by the scholars, i.e. Central Asia and North Africa (Sergi, Zoboro Wski) ; South Russia (Benfrey) ; North Germany (Kossinna, Hirt) ; Scandinavia (Penka, Rhys) ; Hungary (Giles) ; Eastern Europe (Fligier) ; North Europe (Cuno) ; North Pole (Warren, Tilak) ; Central and Western Germany (Gieger) and so on.[37]

Among all such diverse opinions, William Jones says that the home of the Āryas was scattered over the world speaking one language. The sociologists like P. Sarokin and I. Taylor do not agree with this opinion. They say that the people of divergent racial stock may speak one language but their culture cannot be the same as that of Indians.[38] The Āryas in India do not belong to one racial group, they were in different groups and had created different cultures with a unity among them. They were not culture destroyers. As the Mein Kampf mentions, "they were culture-creators having race-purity and race-supremacy with them."[39] K. C. Chattopadhyaya interprets the Vedic term from the Ṛk. I.59.2 as crop-man or ploughman and later, it is used to denote a good man.[40]

The term Ārya comes in use for the first time in the poems of Ṛk. Veda. It is a poetic tradition that the poets finding opportunity glorify their native place in their works. Those who want to show the out-landish traits of the Āryas and Indra, as like as of Śiva, do not press upon the inherent desire of the poets. R. B. Pandey is justified in search after Aryan's home. On the basis of the Nadisukta (Ṛk. X.75.5-8) he says that if there can be any historical significance of this hymn in the time honoured Indian tradition, it is that some branches of the Aryans started west-ward from the banks of the Gangā and Jamunā, and spread over the Kubha river in the North-West. This hymn begins with Gangā and Jamunā and ends with Kubha and Krumu.[41] Most probably, the Āryas were elites of different cultural groups of India and in course of time, they formed a class giving ṣupremacy to Indra in their battle against the Jhkars in the Indus Valley. Indra was a hero by virtue of his practice on Śivayoga in which heroism is highly appreciated throughout its development.

As W. J. Wilkins remaṛks that Indra, together with Agni and Sūrya, by means of sacrifice obtained supremacy over other gods.[42] It does not mean that Indra was going to the battle with the associates of Agni and Sūrya, rather it means Indra was doing sacrifice with the help of the fiery element of austerity. If the Yajna had any social value in Vedic India, this was meant to bring people with different cultural trends to a common understanding of spiritual development. In this respect Vedic Yajna was unparallel in the world. It is for this guiding factor. Yogins like Indra had largest share in the Yajna. Really, Yajna was the social institution prior to the Vedic age "Yatra pūrve sadhyā santi devah" (Ṛk. X.90.16). The aim of Yajna was to make people devoid of evils and to make them immortal—"Yato yatah samihase tato no abhayam kuru" (Yaju. 36.22). The theology of Yajna was, more or less, like that of the Tantra. So, "Yat kāmāsto juhu mastānno astu" (Ṛk. X.121.10) and "kruta me dakshine haste jayo me savya ahitah" (A.V. VIII.52.8) were the call of the seers for the institution of Yajna. This Vedic ideal for reduction of evils owed much to the primitive ideal of rebirth which Indra preached through Yajna. Indra in the Ṛk. IV.20.29, Rudra in the Yajurveda 20.14-16, and Bhava and Sarva in the

Atharva Veda X.I.23 were great gods to help men by way of Yajna.

From these evidences Bhava and Sarva seem to have preceded Indra. It is found from the lineage of teacher-disciple given in the Yadava Prakasa, i.e. Bhava (Śiva), Suraguru (Brhaspati), Duscyavana (Indra), Āsura-guru (Sukra), Mandavya, Saiṭata, Yaska and Pingala.[43] But Rudra succeeded Indra. In the Yajurveda he has been a man-god, but still he remains undecided.

Rudra was the Power within Śiva and Indra

To unfold the conception of Rudra we have shown above the hymns, gods and the seers relating Śiva. Generally, the hymns composed in honour of Śiva and his complementaries; Agni, Indra and Rudra belong to Angirasas and Vasistha. They are in the root of the conception of Rudra. But it is difficult to determine the seer who thought of Rudra for the first time. The names of the seers have been compiled in the Sarvanukramani with an intention that the hymns are revealed by god and the seers are either custodians or propagators of the ideals of respective progenitors. In the chart given above Vasistha and Angira are two progenitors. It is true that Saivism was their religious tradition. For lack of strict ascription of hymns against names of the seers, it is difficult to ascertain the seer responsible for the idea of Rudra. The Sarvanukramani shows that Verses 8 to 11 of the Ṛk. III.4 have been ascribed to Visvamitra and also the same verses are found ascribed to Vasistha in the Ṛk. VII.2.8-11. Still, among the progenitors Angira can be pushed back as he is said to have brought fire to the Vedic seers (Ṛk. IV.2.15) and in the Ṛk. X.14, Vaivasvata Manu is found to have invoked Angira as ancestor-god in many verses. The credit of thought about Rudra may be given to Angirasas.

The characteristics as spread over the Ṛk. Samhita are really so heterogeneous and perplexing that it is also difficult to ascertain what does Rudra mean. In most of the identifications of the scholars Rudra has become a physical object, i.e. storm (Weber); mountain and forest (Weildenburg), fire (B. Upadhyaya and many others), coconut (S. K. Gupta) and so on. Sriramasarma Acharya identifies as fearful appearance of Bhagawana.[44]

Among the scholars, every one has seen one or two characteristics of Rudra with the respective physical object, not the average. Sriramasarma Acharya seems to be accurate in tracing out a fearful appearance, but his Bhagawana is natural phenomena, not the man in austerity. It may be fearful appearance of a man in Śivayoga. So also, S. K. Gupta, a modern scholar on Śiva cult, seems to be erroneous. His finding is based on the Ṛk. VII.59.12. His interpretation of "tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim Pusti vardhanam" is the climax of his knowledge, but his equation of Rudra and coconut is not convincing as his analysis leads Rudra or coconut to be equated with Śiva. Again he concluded that "Śiva cult is, therefore, Vedic. It is neither non-Aryan nor Vedic. It is earlier than the Mahenjo-daro civilisation. For the same reason the Mahenjo-daro civilisation too can not be pre-Vedic. It can only be post-Vedic."[45] Neither the Vedic civilisation can be pushed back to the middle of the third millenium B.C. nor the Indus civilisation can be brought forward to the middle of the second millenium B.C. Moreover, any interpretation on Rudra can not change the deduction about Indian civilisation. Fundamentally, Rudra was not Śiva, it is only space and time which added Śiva-hood to Rudra. So, the greatest scholar, Muir holds that "between the texts from the Brahmanas relating to Rudra and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the epic-poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahabharata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Satarudriya, but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by addition of various additional features and illustrated by numerous legends."[46] It is seen that a quest is there about the ancient material which has brought changes over Rudra of the Ṛk. Veda, through the Brahmanas, the Mahabharata and the mythology. Though Dowson, as we have told above, has once remarked that Rudra is the manifestation of Śiva, still he has fallen into the net work of characteristics of Rudra, and remarked that "he is the howling terrible god, the god of storms, the father of the Rudras or Maruts, and is, sometimes, identified with the god of fire.[47] The ancient material may be the power within Śiva and it has been personified in the Brahmanas as Rudra. Again he was developed gradually in the Mahabharata and in the mythology with adequate legends. It would be known from the destruction of three castles in the Mahabharata, Karna Parvan, Ch. 33-35. We have seen the fundamentals of destruction of Tripura before hand. But the myth is that Rudra taking strength from all the gods became Mahadeva to destroy three-castles. In that battle Brahmā was the chosen best to be his charioteer. Vyasa had made the charioteer more powerful than the hero in chariot. It is also evident in case of Krusna and Arjuna in the battle of Kaurava-Pandava. By combining Rudra and Brahmā for winning over three-castles Vyasa had shown the combination of fire and water, the inseparable co-ordinates of austerity.

Meaning of the term Rudra and its Development

The meaning of the term, Rudra as described in the Ṛk. Veda can be classed in two heads, benevolent and malevolent. Many commentators have analysed the term as they felt and they have derived the term from the root, rud(weep), i.e.

1. Yat arujat tat rudrasya rudratvam (Kathaka samhita).
2. Devānam ya ghorah tanvah tah rudrah (Kanva samhita).
3. Rudra vai kruro devānam (Taittiriya samhita).
4. Roruyamano dravati iti rudrah (Yaska).
5. Rudrasya bhayasya dravanāt rudrah (Pasupatasutra).
6. Sedhanāt dravanāṭ rudrah (Tantraloka).
7. Rosanāt rudrah (Garuda Purana).
8. Rodanāt dravanāt rudra (Padma Purana).
9. Rudrah sarvarogadoṣanivāraka vaidyarāja (Dayananda-bhaṣya).
10. Rudra jvarādi-rogasya preksanena samhārtar-deva (Sayana).[48]

In these commentaries Rudra has four crowning features —benevolence, malevolence, weeping and healing power. His benevolent and malevolent characters may be referred to formerly social behaviour of the *Tribes* with which Indra was connected and to the Hathayoga. Tarak Chandra says that in the religious systems of the Naga tribe, Khazangpa was malevolent who was appeased by Lakhers, and there were benevolent gods, Angami Kepeuopfu, Sema Alhou, and Langki Jingba.[49] The benevolent and malevolent aspects of Rudra in the Ṛk. Veda seem to have correspondence with the religious belief of the tribes. These have also close relation with austerity. The Serpent power in austerity is the source for geniuses and demagogues of history. Gopikrishna remarks in this respect that "this is the malignant or the destructive aspect of Kuṇḍalinī, symbolised by the ancient Indian savants in the form of Kālī, who, black in colour from head to foot, is depicted with her mouth dripping with human blood, a severed human head in one of her hands and a garland of skulls round her neck. In her benign form Kuṇḍalinī is Durgā, a creatrix, the dispeller of ignorance and all evils and ills."[50] The Serpent Power of austerity was not unknown to the tribes and possibly, for that reason their deities were benevolent and malevolent. It is Indra and the Angirasas who were responsible for the benevolent and malevolent characteristics of Rudra.

Arresting is the weeping, in the interpretations of the term, Rudra, of the birth episode of the Mahabharata, Anusasana Parvan, Ch. 16. This episode comes, for the first time, in the Brahmanas, and the Puranas have given different colours to it. His birth episode is that : "The Lord of beings was a house-holder, and Ushas (The Dawn) was his wife. A boy was born in a year. The boy wept. Prajapati said to him, 'Boy' dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity ?" The boy said, My evil has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name. Prajapati said, "Thou art Rudra".[51] Rudra wept for eight times and he was given eight names Generally, a curiosity arises why did the boy weep for a name ? Again, why was he not satisfied with one or two names ? He went on weeping till he was given eight names Of course, the Brahmanas, the Mahabharata and others are not unanimous on names of

Rudra. The esoteric writers have added symbolic representations to the names. The representations vary in such a manner that they stand baseless.[52] These are as follows :

1. *The Satapatha Brahmana* : Rudra(agni), Sarva (water), Paśupati(plants), Ugra(vayu), Aśani (lightning), Bhava(parjanya), Mahādeva(moon), and Īśāna(sun).
2. *The Samkhayana Brahmana* : Bhava(sun), Sarva (water), Pasupati(earth), Ugra(fire), Mahādeva (air), Rudra (ether), Īśāna (sacrificer) and Aśani (soma).
3. *The Mahimna Stotram* : Bhava(sun), Sarva (moon), Rudra(air), Paśupati(fire), Ugra(water), Mahādeva(space), Bhima(earth) and Īśana (atman).
4. *The Manimekkalai* : Two lights, one doer and five fundamental principles.
5. *The Tantraloka* : Eight Nagas, Eight Dig-gajas, Eight Planets, Eight Bhairavas and Eight Ganapatis.
6. *The Linga Purana* : Puruṣa, Prakruti, Ahamkāra, and five Tanmātras.
7. *The Śiva Purana* : Sarva (earth), Bhava (water), Paśupati (agni), Īśāna (vayu), Bhima (sky), Rudra (surya), Mahādeva (soma), and Ugra (yajamana).
8. *The Vayu Purana* : Sarva (earth), Bhava (water), Paśupati (agni), Īśāna (vayu), Bhima (sky), Rudra (surya), Mahadeva (soma), and Ugra (yajamana).
9. The Mahabharata mentions the names with a change, Bhima in place of Asani as described in the Sankhayana Brahmana.

All the texts have documented eight names with some variations and these have come out of weeping of the boy. The reason of weeping is certainly not for his first birth, it concerns to his second birth or Jīvanmukti. Really, the episode goes to the credit of a Śiva-Yogin. The austerity brings second birth and takes away all evils. This same position can be seen in the Hermetic religion. As S. Radhakrishnan pointed out a gnostic in this religion cries being abstained from evils, Father! god has given me a new being and I perceive things now not with bodily eye sight but by the working of the mind.[53] This has been elucidated more in the Rudrasudhanidhi, a Śaiva treatise in Oriya vernacular, of about sixteenth century A.D.

Narayanananda, the author of said text, has demonstrated Śivayoga with eight attainments and attainments more than eight with the help of two characters, Abhinavacaitanya and Rudrasudhanidhi. These two stages of Śivayoga have been characterised through an episode. The episode goes as follows :

"Abhinavachaitanya was one among many Śaiva ascetics. The ascetics were practising Yoga. Once upon a time, Śiva wanted to test the merit of the austerity they practised so far. He hailed in with Pārvatī to the assembly of the ascetics. Śiva requested Pārvatī to give birth a child. Pārvatī did so. The child was a mind-born damsel. She was known as Trailokyamohinī. She appeared before the ascetics with Kandarpa (Cupid) and Vasanta (Spring). The term of the test was whether the ascetics had been able to know Pārvatī, the principle of truth and illusion. But, Alas! at the very sight of the damsel Abhinavacaitanya began to suffer from desire and he got plucked among all. The moment passed away. He became conscious of his failure. Śiva directed him to born again. At this direction he became terrified that he would suffer from miseries of birth and death again. He began to weep. His aim of release from worldly birth and death did not hold good. Śiva explained him that his being a soul has birth, desire and death. He continued that desire, action, religion, labour, illusion, austerity, vice and bondage come to a soul in succession. Then he would enjoy worldly pleasures, and at last, he would achieve Kaivalya (salvation), Abhinavachaitanya remained in his mother's womb. While he was in his mother's womb he came in contact with a Hathayogi and in course of his religious discussion he rejected all other prevailing religious doctrines, but glorified the recitation of name of Jagannātha. He got born again. At birth he uttered

"Śivo'ham", "Śivo'ham" and he was given the name, Rudrasudhanidhi."

In this episode, Rudrasudhanidhi is the heir apparent of the Vedic Rudra and Abhinavachaitanya is the personification of the Vedic transcendental spirit who has no name and who cries for a name. The intention of the Vedic seer creating the episode has been multifarious. As it was quite a new thing in the Vedic days, the transcendental spirit resulted in the new enlightenment should have a personal name. The seer, Yajnavalkya had fulfilled the requirement and he coined the term, Rudra in the Satapatha Brahmana following Vrātyadeva of the Atharva Veda, XV.3. Narayanananda of Oriya literature developed the Vedic concept of Rudra. In the Rudrasudhanidhi the failure of Abhinavachaitanya in the test and his cries 'Śivo'ham' at his new birth do not coincide with the incidences that happened in the birth history of the Vedic Rudra. But there is coincidence in the ideas of new-born child in the Vedic literature and in the Rudrasudhanidhi. The eight names of the Vedic Rudra have certain reference to eight actions of Abhinavachaitanya, and moreover, his becoming of Rudrasudhanidhi waits for two actions, earthly pleasure and Kaivalya. It may be a fact that the Vedic Rudra has the same attainments.

The failure of Abhinavachaitanya is really his success. Abhinavachaitanya or Vedic Rudra has no failure. His love towards the damsel agrees with the Saiva doctrine as follows:

"Absence of love towards the devotees means the absence of love towards God himself. Since they (jīvanmuktas) have no love for Śiva, it is impossible for them to love all the living beings which are God's manifestations. Thus those beings are devoid of love towards God, His devotees and all other souls will necessarily be their own enemies. Hence the company of these degenerate souls should be shunned and jīvanmuktas must seek and enjoy the sweet and sacred company of the sincere devotees who will foster the original love in the jīvanmuktas. These jīvanmuktas, therefore, humiliate themselves before the devotees and uttering words of sweetness and love go about clapping their hands in delirium of joy and dance in ecstatic mirth."[54] Love of Abhinavachaitanya was erotic and for this reason his success gives the airs of failure. This erotic

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attitude has also got the sanction of ancient philosophy. It has been extended upto six-pleasure. It is known that Kanada was the greatest philosopher of Eternity in the world of matters. It is there in the Ubhayabhisarika of Vararuchi. S. P. Tewari editing the text derives the significance of the term, Vaiśeṣikācala which was used in a dialogue between Viṭa and Vilāsa Kauṇdini. Here, Vilāsa Kauṇdini, the lady ascetic, says that she is in need of a Vaiśeṣikācala, who is an expert of Vaiśeṣika philosophy of Kanada. Viṭa ridicules her that her bodily charms and gestures speak for themselves that even while discussing 'Nitya' her preceptor has taught her rati (coitus) as the only fact of Eternity.[55]

As like as Rudra, Abhinavachaitanya got born again. While Rudra wept for a name, Abhinavachaitanya cried 'Śivo'ham'. Though at his birth he was given the name, Rudrasudhanidhi, still he was, perhaps, lacking in the quality of becoming Rudrasudhanidhi. To initiate Sutakaharini with his ideal, he had advised her to wait till he grew up. Though he was named, he was, then fallen short of two attainments more. These were his requirements to be placed himself in the stage of a preceptor. Śiva was in this position, neither the Vedic Rudra nor Rudrasudhanidhi at his birth. So Rudrasudhanidhi was reciting 'Śivo'ham'. By that recitation he identified himself with Śiva. This may be referred to the Saiva doctrine of 'Śivo'ham bhavana'. This doctrine indicates that the jīvanmukta identifies himself with Śiva in his condition of temporary enjoyment and liberation, and he does this for continued enjoyment of Bliss.[56]

Rudra and Abhinavachaitanya got their second birth, and they were in need of becoming Śiva and Rudrasudhanidhi, both of which are one and the same. Here the compound word, Rudrasudhanidhi means Rudra is like the wealth of *amṛuta* (nectar). The term, *amṛta* in the Ṛk. Veda means immortality—"tripādasya mṛtam divi" (X.90.3). It aims at Puruṣa in whom the mortal and immortal worlds are enfolded and Puruṣa is Śiva. Śiva is far ahead of eight names of the Vedic Rudra and eight actions of Abhinavachaitanya. These eight names and eight actions may, simply, be referred to eight attainments of Śivayoga. For a little clarification we may quote the version of the Buddha as noted down by H. C. Warren :

"There are forty different subjects of meditation enumerated. These meditations, if any one earnestly carries out, lead to a trance or to several kinds of trances. The Buddhist knows four such trances. To them are added four states, the so-called formless states. The trances and states are described by the Buddha himself as follows : Of one who has entered the first trance the voice has ceased ; of one who has entered the second trance the reasoning and reflection have ceased ; of one who has entered the third trance joy has ceased ; of one who has entered the fourth trance the inspiration and expiration have ceased ; of one who has entered the realm of infinity of consciousness the perception of the realm of the infinity of space has ceased ; of one who has entered the realm of the nothingness the perception of the infinity of consciousness has ceased ; of one who has entered the realm of neither perception nor yet non-perception, the perception of the realm of nothingness has ceased, of one who has entered the cessation of perception and sensation, the perception and sensation have ceased ; of the priest who has lost all depravity, passion has ceased, hatred has ceased, infatuation has ceased. The four trances and four formless states are eight attainments. But it is to be observed that there is a ninth attainment, which is based on wisdom or intellectual discipline".[57] This ninth attainment may be bhoga (worldly pleasure) for Rudrasudhanidhi and there is also the tenth attainment of Kaivalya for his real state of being.

From the above findings, we may conclude that the Vedic Rudra is no other than the transcendental spirit with eight attainments of austerity of a man. Rudra in the AV. Veda was increased to seven while Vrātyadeva sat for Tapa (austerity). They were Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādeva and Īśāna and including Vrātyadeva they were eight (AV. XV.5). Yajnavalkya had brought some changes on their names and had kept the same number in the Satapatha Brahmana, and again he had increased the number to eleven in the Bruhadaranyaka Upanisad. Rudras were increased up to one hundred in the Taittiriya Samhita. In the Vedic literature Rudra was not increased infinitum, the increase ended in the Absolute. In this case, the opinion of William Knight remarkably holds true. He says that "we may go on adding element to element, and more elements we take in, greater the sublimity, but at length, we reach a limit and can combine no more. It is absolute sublimity."[58] The variations of the characteristics as noted from the Ṛk. Veda occurred for the fact that Rudra saw the whole and himself in the mind and also the Vedic seers saw him alike. Rudra was invoked in one hundred forms giving out the conceivable forms of mobiles and immobiles. This formed the back ground of all later descriptions of Incarnations. But the principal Rudra has become Śiva in the Rudradhya-ya, "paro mujā vato etihi" which means you go beyond mujāvat mountain. This mujāvat may be identified with Muztagh Ata of Central Asia. This implies that from the age of the Brahmanas Śiva was, more or less, popular even in Central Asia in the name of Rudra. Rudra was prominent with the fall of Indra. It is evident in the Vṛṣākapi Sūkta. (Ṛk. X.86). In this Śukta Vṛṣākapi get importance with the fall of Indra for which Indrani lamented. Here Vṛṣākapi may be identified with Rudra. Gradually, Rudra went high over Agni and Indra. Getting all attributes of Vedic Indra and Agni, he was aryanised in a high tune. The transcendental spirit of Śiva got god-hood as his representation. Basically, all the Vedic seers could not but appropriate Śiva-yoga, and could not appreciate Śiva for their superiority complex. In the age of the Puranas Śiva and Rudra became one and the same, and sometimes, Śiva remained under the shadow of Rudra. It is because of Brahmanisation, which went in favour of Rudra long ago. So, the scholars of later age designated Śiva as Rudra-Śiva. Still it seems that they have some misconception about the term, Rudra. The similarity between Śiva, Indra and Rudra may be seen in the tantric-lore.

Śiva in the Tantric-Lore of India

The Indus civilisation had the testimony of the tantric cult and the whole of the religious sanctum was presided over by Śiva and Ambā. Besides Śiva, the female figurine discovered in the Indus Valley may be recognised as Ambā. In favour of such recognition an essay, 'Mahamaya Bhattarika' of this writer may be referred to (Kaivalya, 2nd year, No. 1, 1982, Cuttack). Among the female figurines in the Indus Valley one is nude;

head downwards and legs stretched out upwards, with a plant issuing out of her womb.[60] This was, perhaps the image of Ambā practising tantra-yoga. Śiva and Ambikā in Mahenjodaro were Mahakaulas. The seal representations, as deciphered by Pran Nath, bear certain amount of analogy with medieval tantric texts. In the Indus scripts Ma(Ambā) was represented in fish sign and Śiva was represented in a monogram resembling a man. Among the tantric deities Klī, Srī, Hrī, Ka, Ra, Ma, Na, Ni, Bhu and Inni, while some were representing Śiva, others were representing Ambā. Most probably, in the tantric cult of the Indus Valley there was no such fixed compartment for Śiva and Ambā, rather the tantric works of both of them were forming a unitary whole of Indian Tantra. It would be seen in the Tripuratapini Upanisad which mentions twelve schools of tantra, i.e. 1. Śakti-Śiva vidyā ; 2. Lopāmudrā vidyā ; 3. Krodhamuni vidyā ; 4. Manavī vidyā ; 5. Chandī vidyā ; 6. Kauverī vidyā ; 7. Agastya vidyā ; 8. Nandī vidyā ; 9. Prabhākarī vidyā ; 10. Sanmukhi vidyā ; 11. Paramaśiva vidyā and 12. Vaiṣnavī vidyā. In these schools of tantra Śiva and Ambā were not different. In that text Hrīm, Śrīm and Klīm in the hymn 'Om Hrīm Śrim Klīm namo bhagavatī māhesvarī (P-3) and 'Hrīm Śrīm Śiva-śakti' were derived from the Indus tantric goddess, Klī, Srī, and Hrī.[61]

These medieval and the Indus tantric impressions were evolved from pre-historic black-magic. The primitives had invented mystic diagrams and sacred circles representing tools and weapons as cult symbols associated with fertility rites. These were believed to promote the fertility of the earth and prosperity of the people. Since the agriculture was believed to be in the province of women, such tantric symbols and rites were developed through them. Rituals then were meant for obtaining elixir of life and rites were meant for turning earth and base metals into essential things. Its effect was highly materialistic and so, it was closely connected with the life of the lower classes of people in the peripheral areas of India. The folk-deities documented in the Kaulacudamani and in the Varahi Tantra, i.e. Candālī, Carmakārī, Patarasaurunī, Oḍāsunī, or Olāsunī Dominī, Kaivartī, Rajakī etc. have been taken from tribal tantric lore. These folk-deities were there for different kinds of calamities befallen on common people and for agriculture. These were communal deities. It was the practice among the tribal people that if a Virgin is initiated in *tantra*, *mantra*, *yoga* and *mūdra*, she was revered as Śakti by the respective community.[62] These tantric deities came into being under the foot-prints of Śiva and Ambā of the Indus civilisation. The sculptural evidence of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa lead us to suggest that the pre-historic black-magic was put in the order of intuitional science by them. There might be any other tantrins during that period, but for want of evidence, they may be called the parents of Indian Tantra in true sense of the term.

Since ancient days Śakti worship was in the higher pedestal than the Śiva worship. It was always there even after the domination of Śiva. The Śākta tantra went high in a natural tendency of people. It is the common belief that the mother is moved first at the distress of a child. This has been painted best in the Ramayana in connection with the battle between Rama and Ravana. In this issue Durgā became impatient first at the sight of Ravana's most torturing penance but Śiva was silent. At this Durgā reapproached Śiva calling him a withered old man, who smoked intoxicating herbs, lived in the cemeteries and covered himself with ashes. Śiva did not leave her unhurt. He called her bad names that she does not act like a woman, because she too wandered about from place to place, engaged in war, a drunken, spent her time in the company of degraded beings, killed giants, drunk their blood, hung their skulls around her neck.[63] This episode gives the airs of tantric characteristic of Śiva and Durgā. Durgā is the appellation of Ambā. It is understood from this episode that Ambā was not less powerful than Śiva and from other episodes it is also known that she was zealous to stand in combat with Śiva for her tantric ability.

During the Vedic days Indra and Rudra were tantra-Yogins. In the Atharva Veda Indra was the god of tantric practices. (II. 31.1). It is found in the Mrugendratantra that he meditated on Śiva for one thousand years, he got communion with Śiva and was enlightened with the Kamika Jantra.[64] In the age of the Puranas Indra became an epithet for tantrins par excellence, i.e. Indradyumna in the history of Jagannātha and Indrabhuti, of Vajrayana. So also, following the Vedic Rudra, the Koti-rudra Samhita of Śiva Purana enumerates legends about Rudras. It is known from that text that the Saiva ascetics and the patrons of Saivism were revered as Rudras. These were called Viṭ Rudras which mean mass. They were followers of one Kshātra Rudra. (S.B. 9.1.1.1). These Viṭ Rudras were tantrins.

With the above conditions of tantra, from the age of the Indus civilisation to the end of the Vedic age, it may be said that it has been modified time to time with growing religious metaphysics. Generally, the tantra contains in it the conditions adoptable for domestic life and spiritual life. A tantrin, like all others, has evils, physical and moral. It is not easy to deny the existence of evil or rust. It is only Rudra who takes away animals of sacrifice which means he can take out animality of a tantrin (Mah.Bh., Vana., Ch. 114.7). In course of time the ultimate utility of tantra has become "sarvadhātubhyah stran" (Unādisūtra-608) which means the development of soul. The Parasurama Kalpasutra makes it 'purṇatākhyāti'.[65] The term 'purṇatākhyāti' includes four sides of life, dharma (religion), artha (riches), kāma (sex) and moksa (liberation). The tantric theology, for achieving 'purṇatākhyāti' prescribes the ways and means of rousing the Serpent Power laying hidden in man. Prior to any written theology on tantric practices, it is seen in the images of Śiva and Ambā in the Indus Valley which we have discussed much before hand. The Kuṇḍalinī is actualized by interplay of fire and water. The concept of Kuṇḍalini in the human body is mysterious. Most probably, it is interacted by symbolic fire and water of austerity.

In the tantric literature, the Kuṇḍalinī is in esoteric formula. The Kuṇḍalinī is said to be in a sleeping condition at the *Mūlādhāra Cakra.* It is coiled, anti-clockwise, three and a half times around the *Svayambhu Linga* closing its mouth. When the Kuṇḍalinī is awakened and is made conscious, it forces its passage through the different *Cakras* and excites them to action, and piercing them it rises up Kuṇḍalinī kisses the lotus mouth of Śiva. Śiva gladdens by the scent of her lotus-like mouth. Śiva becomes satisfied. Like sublimation of libido of psychology, it is the elevation of seminal fluid. This union of seminal fluid with Śiva is the union of fire and water.

This has been told in the Mahabharata that Agni searched for Indra assuming the form of a woman. He searched every where but not in the water for fear of losing his own existence. At last, gods strengthened him with magic spell. Then he followed Indra in the water and got him.[66] In tantric theology, a tantrin is set to burn in fire and is saved by water. This is the true spirit of '*Pancamakara*' doctrine. It causes miracles of Hathayoga. That is the reason, the norm and the form of '*Pancamakāra*' have caught the notice of Bankim Chandra, the greatest writer of the Indian Nationalism. He has made Prafulla, a normal tantrin and Bhavani, a preceptor in his novel, Devi Chaudhurani. Till the third year of initiation Prafulla has been given all pleasurable things. In the fourth year, he has been thrown into two horns of dilemma of attachment and detachment. In the fifth year he is found crossed over all dimensions of attachment and has become a patriot.

In ancient time the tantrin was the physician and magician. This social necessity was met by tantra-Yogins. There might be many tantra-yogins like Śiva and Ambā, but there was no evidence of any one as we find the traces of tantric characteristics from the latter two. In the Vedic age the Angirasas and the Vratyas were exponents of tantra-Yogins like Indra, Rudra and the Vratyadeva, but the folk-life was mainly conducted by Śiva and Ambā, and they were traditional deities in the tantric-lore of India. The popularity of Śiva and Ambā through the medium of tantra brought many other gods to take share in it and the Śaiva tantra got rid of its traditional form being influenced by the other religious liturgies on tantra. The tantra was the outcome of the doctrine of Śiva and later, it conducted the very norm of philosophy credited to him.

Philosophy of Śiva

Certainly the great national and religious leader had a philosophy for a nation consisting mainly of the Nisadas. He has left behind him some seals containing his images which can be counted upon as his philosophy of life, and except it nothing was kept recorded. In this case the opinion of S. Radhakrishnan is notable. He says "if the philosophy of man is, at present, to know himself and to further the universal life, of which each individual is an integral part, this is to be seen in the figurine of a great Yogi, known as Proto-Śiva. It is easily understood from the sitting condition of the Yogī that he had a sermon to the nation "perfection can be achieved only through self-conquest, through courage and austerity, through unity and brother-hood in life".[67] It is understood from the Vedic literature, the Angirasas and Yajnavalkya, were custodians of ancient Saivism and so, they were pressing hard on the doctrine of second birth. Second birth through attachment may be the spirit of their philosophy.

The self-knowledge brings jīvanmukti in the present life of an individual. A knowledge about this life is possible in the present life or life after death was remained debatable in the philosophy. The argumentation had simply shattered the spirit of belief in God. In some philosophies the jīvanmukti is achieved when the individual loses his identity and is absorbed in God, and in some other philosophies, the liberated soul feels his oneness with god but is not absorbed in him. The former is the idea of Samkar and the latter is the idea of Manickavachakar of the Śaiva Siddhānta. Showing this difference Manickavachar says :—

> Thyself is what Thou hast given!
>   Myself is what Thou hast got;
> Who is the cleverer of the two?
>   O' Samkar do speak.
> The Rapture-bliss that knows no end
>   I have well gained from Thee!
> In there e'en a single thing
>   that Thou hast got from me?
>
> (Tiruvachakam, 393 Stanza)

Self in Relation to Second Birth

The jīvanmukta keeps his identity while realises the Self. The Self connotes perishable as well as imperishable energy of the soul. The intellectual combats could not go beyond the limit of make-believe. The fore-runners of the Vedanta had simplified the term, Self as body, mind, individual self, food, and the absolute self. The Chandogya Upanisad mentions:

that the self is the Supreme Light by which we hear and see, and think and meditate (VIII., 7-12). S. Radhakrishnan summarises the statement, "the primal spirit, pure awareness, distinct from the bodily states and mental happenings. By a process of analysis, the self can be discriminated from the not-self. The self is assumed to be that which remains identical in the varied experiences of life".[68] It may concern to the imperishable self and also it may be taken against the opinion of the Prasnopanisad, "hrdi hyesa ātmā, atraitadeka satam nādinām tāsām satam satamekaikasyām dvāsaptatirdvasaptatih prati sakha nādī sahasrāni bhavantyasu anascarati" (III. 6). Here the self is the Prāna which interacts within the nerves of the soul. The Chandogya Upanisad is seen agree with the fact that food, water and other materials constitute Prāna. It would be seen that Self, Ātman, Brāhmana and Prāna have been one and the same in the Upanisadas. The Satapatha Brahmana clearly mentions, "atma vai mano hrdayam pranah" (3.8.3.8). Again the Satapatha Brahmana clarifies Prāna as that "Gotama Rahugana had known a sacrifice called Mitravinda. He who attains this sacrifice conquers the cycle of birth and rebirth. Such a person performing the sacrifice in Agni attains the special state of being of the manifestation of Prajāpati and he never dies" (S.B. 10.1.2.14). Here Prajāpati, Prāna, Self and Brāhmana—all do not mean an abstraction, and certainly, they all being one has an existence. It follows Carl F. F. von Weizsacker "Prāna is spatially extended and vitalizing. Hence above all it is moving potency".[69]

To look into the social condition prevailing in the age of the Brahmanas and the early Upanisadas in India is essential for estimation of the term, Self. Really, the age of Yajnavalkya, and even of the Angirasas, was the age of Renaissance in the Indian culture and civilisation. It is very wrong supposition that they had run after an abstraction of Prāna or Self which had no social value to them. Rather they are supposed to award a position of fantasy to perceptible and experiencing things for more localisation. They were highly influenced and were more conversant with the non-aryanised tradition. In course of aryanisation, possibly, they would have suffered a lot. The spirit of philosophy speaks about it. It is very likely their suffering was so much drab, irritating and continuous that they could not hope to save themselves if they would cling to the Vedic way of life. The Vedic poets spoke much about the attachment, but they spoke for their selfish-ends. They invoked gods for worldly happiness at the cost of the enemies. There was exception, no doubt, but it is countable.. There was Dirghatamas who can be taken as fountain-head of all such philosophy of the age. Still the seers of the Brahmanas and the Upanisadas, under the pressure of aryanisation, raised their suffering to a level of mortification of body in the non-aryan way. In the Indian religious history, Yajnavalkya had regulated primitive idea of rebirth by *Karma*. He had introduced it as social necessity. As Walter Ruben says, "rebirth and *karman* from the very beginning were connected with the order of ranks. Everybody was himself responsible for his birth in this or that rank in this life or in the next life."[70] His next life may be a change to a higher stage by *Karma*. Because making a visible and real invisible and unreal no social purpose was to meet with. Moreover, he was confined to the evolution of Prāna. Prāna was raised to be equated with gopā in the Jaiminiya Upanisad Brahmana as "apasyam gopāmanipādya mānamiti, prano vai gopāh" (7.37.2). Gopā radiates rays and it helps prajah to settle either forward or retrograde. Dirghatama has told it in a more convincing way, "two birds reside in one tree, one is engaged in eating sweet fruit and other is engaged in looking at it. He preserves the world. He who indulges himself in immortality invokes him only and the omnipresent exists within the ignorant like me. The man who does not know this Father is unable to get the sweet fruit" (Rk. I. 164.20-22). Here Gopā, Father and Viśvadevā mean the Sun. In this hymn Dirghatama invokes the Sun and the Earth and Jaimini invokes Prāna as Gopā. Moreover, Jaimini says, "the Prāna is enwrapped in its māyā or supernatural power and it is known to be learned. The learned who is compared to Kavi infuses the secret to the people (J.U.B. 3.35.6). The knowledge of Brahmana or Self might have come to him from the tradition of his family. The Mundaka Upanisad mentions that the knowledge of Brahmana, the foundation of all knowledge, he (Brahma) revealed to his first-born son, Atharva. In turn Atharva taught this same knowledge of Brahmana to Agni. Angi, again, taught it to

Satyabaha, who revealed it to Angiras.[71] F. E. Pargitor has ascribed the genealogy of Angiras to Dirghatamas.[72] The Prasna Upanisad as like as Dirghatamas maintains that the Sun is the Prāna of the universe and the power of the earth maintains the Apāna in man.[73] It is true that Prāna stands for vital air in the soul and also for the Sun.

This position of Prāna in the Vedic literature may be critically reviewed. It is the food of developing human consciousness. Occasionally, it is described to be composed of fine stuff, and so, it may be a material object. But it is not all about Prāna. The principle of the Sun and the Earth or their substitutes, Śiva and Ambā as source of creation underlie in the concept of Prāna being the Self. The formation of the Supreme One is based on the two limits, one is opposite to the other. This One is said often to manifest the world soul, and that One can be understood only as a conceptual interpretation of the experience obtainable by meditation or austerity. The experience in austerity of stillness is the experience of the Self. But it cannot be the whole which consists of the world. In case of manifestation, it is subject to lose his wholeness. It is like an atom. The atom is not a system of nucleus and electrons ; nucleus and electrons are discovered when atom is destroyed. In partition, the atom loses its wholeness.[74] The Self as Ultimate Truth has no place in austerity, neither it concerns to material world nor does it concern to the Saiva Philosophy. The Saiva Philosophy is mainly aimed at material prospect of life. It is seen that the quantum idea of atomic system was postulated by Einstein in accounting for some experimental observation on the photoelectric effect, and he established dual character of electromagnetic radiation, of which one is particle-like and the other wave-like. The Uncertainty principle is explained that there are pairs of variables, conjugate to each other. The conjugation is like this that to localise one, we have to lose all knowledge of the corresponding component at a given time.[75] This process of conjugation may be applied to the Self as Ultimate one in austerity and for this reason it may be taken as conceptual.

The variable of the atom remains in the mind corresponds with Pārvatī, as we have told, of the Rudrasudhanidhi. The knowledge about Pārvatī was the term of condition for

Abhinavachaitanya who became Rudrasudhanidhi in his second birth. That is the Śakti (energy) of Śiva, and it is only one, not many. The Svetasvatara Upanisad mentions, "it appears as various by its manifestations" (I. 3.61). Again, the Svetasvatara mentions, "It is the Śakti alone who manifests herself as Nāda, Bindu, Sadāśiva, Maheśvara, Rudra, Viṣnu and Brahmā. Whatever of shape exists that proceeds from Śakti and that is Śakti and Śiva combined (II. IV. 76). The Atharvasiras Upanisad speaks about it as "There is one Rudra only,—they do not allow a second, who rules all the worlds by his powers".[76]

"Rudra is one and there is no second" refers to "Ekohi rudro nadvitīyāy tasthu" of the Yajurveda (1.8.6). It is seen that this hymn, with a little variation, appears in the Chandogya Upanisad, "Ekamevā dvitīyam Brahmam" (VI. 2.1). These form the Gordian knot of the doctrines of 'dvaita' and 'advaita' and between the two Rudra remains ambiguous. Neither Rudra is Śiva, nor he is One, he is microcosm of Śiva and also is within the reach of Śiva. K. M. Balasubramaniam clarifies the Vedic hymn convincingly and the summary of his statement is as follows :

"The negative prefix 'na' has been added to 'dvitiyam' and it has been 'nadvitīyam' in the Yajurveda. Then it has dropped its 'na' and has come simply to be used as Advitīyam in the Chandogya Upanisad. Now it has come to stay as Advitīyam and Advaitam. This negative prefix 'na' connotes usually, three shades of meanings of a negative character. namely, (1) Sadṛśya, (2) Abhāva or positive negation, and (3) Virodha or opposite. In Sadṛśya meaning 'Advaitam' is 'they are not two' ; in Abhāva meaning it is 'there are not two' and in Virodha meaning there is 'the existence of the different entities of god and soul. Taking Sadṛśya meaning Rudra means 'there are prima-facie two but they are in reality not two'. The negative prefix 'na' or 'a' in Sanskrit is capable of expressing three such meanings only when it is used in connection with nouns. But when it is used in connection with numerals, it gives only Sadṛśya meaning. Thus the word dvaitam with the prefix 'a' would be Advaitam. The word Advaitam would mean 'no doubt there are two, but, in fact. they are not two', they are *ananya* or non-different".

Swami Vedachalam adds to it, "dvitam and dvitīyam are not identical in meaning. Dvitam means two and dvitīyam means a twofold state. Here Nadvitīyam ought to mean a 'not-two state'. The function of the term Advaitam expresses the relation between the Supreme Being and the universe. If he is One alone, the Vedic poet would have said, omitting the Advaitam, "Ekam eva Brahmam" and if he has relation to any other, he would have said, "dvitam eva Brahmam". But he has clearly stated, "Ekam evadvitīyam Brahmam" and "Ekam eva rudra nadvitīyāya tastu". With the addition of 'advitīyam' Brahma and Rudra come to connote a kind of not-two state".[77] The relation between Brahma with the universe, and Rudra with Prāna, is the same as that of the Sun and the Earth, and of two birds in the tree. No absolute separation between them is possible and so, among the pairs a non-different relation has been emphasized.

Rudra is 'one without the second' and 'not-two state' have broadly divided the Saiva Philosophy of later age into two main systems—Real and Ideal. The Realistic System comprising of Rasesvara and Saiva Siddhanta propounds the second birth, and the Idealistic School comprising of Paśupata System and Pratyabhijnā prescribes for surrendering oneself to Rudra.

Paśupata System

The Paśupata System stresses much upon Guru (preceptor) and dukhānta (end of misery). In this system Kārya (action) is dependent ; Kārąna (cause) is God ; Yoga (austerity) is the unity of the Soul and God, and Vidhi (canons) is action leading to Dharma (religion). The knowledge about Śiva has greater importance for salvation. For this purpose Guru has been unavoidable factor. Guru is the source of knowledge of lābha (acquisition), mala (impurity), upāya (expendient), deśa (locality), avasthā (perseverence), viśuddhi (purity), dikshākārin (initiation), vala (power) and vṛtti (function). One is to surrender to his Guru for salvation.

Pratyabhijnā System

The Pratyabhijnā system is known as Kashmir Saivism or Trika Philosophy. The principle of 'I am Śiva' has great importance in this system. It is a *abhedavāda* (system of no difference). So it interprets immensely on *bheda* and *bhedābheda*. In the Pratyabhijnā, Paramaśiva is Omnipresent and *Citrupa*. The whole universe resides in him. Paramaśiva is the combination of Śiva and Śakti. His desire is knowledge and action, both indifferent, which pervade thirtysix principles beginning from Śiva to earth.[78] In this system man-god, Śiva has been exalted to impersonal and ultimate power.

Śaiva Siddhanta

This system is mainly based on the principle of second birth. It divides the whole matter into three heads—Pati, Paśu and Pāsa and so its fundamental doctrine is the truth of Tripadārtha. The metaphysics of this system is in its general feature as much a Vedic school of thought. In this system Paśu is of three types, Vijnānakala, Pralayākala and Sakala; and each of them has subdivisions. The bondage of Paśu is Pāsa. The Pāsa is of four kinds—mala, karma, māyā and rodhaśakti.[79]

Rasesvara Vada

It is the ancient system of Saiva Philosophy. It concerns to primitive magic, sorcery and austerity. It got scriptural value from Somadeva. In this system mercury and mica diluted in proportions can bring second birth. This is a means to tantric exercises so much prevalent in the ancient days. The body is regarded eternal.[80]

Conclusions

It is not known exactly if there was a man named Śiva, who was revered as a man-god since middle of the third millenium B.C. in the Indus Valley. The personal noun, Śiva has, more or less, similarity with Seva, Sabazius, Osiris, Serah and Ceing. Among them Ceing was the Austric god, and now, Ceing, perhaps, in the name of Cingi is there among the Mundas. Serah in the Indus Valley, Cingi of the Mundas and Osiris in Egypt are sun-gods. Most probably, a man of Nisadabhumi in the Vindhyan region had gone over the Indus Valley as a pilgrim. Then the Indus Valley was the place of pilgrimage presided over by the phallic deities, the Sun and the Earth. The man practised tantra-Yoga along with his consort there. Both of them achieved perfection and the man became popular as Śiva and his consort became popular as Ambā. They became representatives of phallic deities, the Sun and the Earth. His own kiths and kins were evolved as the Dravidas and the followers of his religious doctrine were Vrātyas. Sometime about 1800 B.C. they all were driven out by the Jhkars, with whom the Aryans had to fight.

The Aryans were crop-men of the Ganga-Jamuna Doab which was the habitation, mainly, of the Nagas. The seers of the Vedas were religious leaders of the Indoloids. In the age of the Aryan civilisation and culture, the Vrātyas, the Dravidas, Indra, Rudra, and Angirasas were custodians and exponents of ancient Saivism. Among them Indra and Rudra had achieved god-hood on the basis of Śiva-Yoga and they became microcosms of pre-Vedic Śiva. As regards attainments of Śiva-Yoga Indra was ahead of Rudra and his names indicate that he had more attainments. Still Rudra became more appreciated in the later part of the Vedic age than Indra and the latter had made way for the former. It, perhaps, happened so due to phallic character of Indra.

Rudra was the cause under the transformation of pre-Vedic Śiva into Puranic-Śiva and so the concept of Rudra-Śiva may be true for Puranic-Śiva. Still many principal characteristics of Pre-Vedic Śiva were added to Puranic-Śiva and these came down through the tradition and through Rudra.

Śiva had a philosophy for his own fellowmen and others. His image might have come out of his own desire in his time. That philosophy aimed at second birth through attachment. For this reason, being exalted to the position of Ultimate Truth Śiva and Rudra reveal a not-two state, not one without the second. In the later age, the doctrine of not-two state and one without the second brought divisions in Saiva philosophy. i.e. the Realistic school comprising of Saiva Siddhanta and Rasesvaravada, and Idealistic School comprising of Kashmir Saivism and Pasupata System. In the Realistic School one tastes the Bliss, but one absorbs in it in the Idealistic School.

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75. Quantum Mechanies, L. I. Schiff, 3rd Edition, pp. 3-7.
76. Special Lectures on Saiva Siddhanta, K. M. Balasubramaniam, published by The Annamalai University, 1959, p. 28.
77. Ibid., pp. 35-41.
78. Sarvadarsana Sangraha, edited by U. S. Sharma, The Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 1978, p. 349 and Kashmira Saivadarsana Aura Kamayani by B. L. Joshi, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1968, Ch. I.
79. Special Lectures on Saiva Siddhanta, K. M. Balasubramaniam, The Annamalai University, 1959, pp. 67-84.
80. Sarvadarsana Sangraha, edited by U. S. Sharma, The Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 1978, p. 16, and p. 375.

3

Origin and Development of Śiva Cult in Orissa

UNLIKE other parts of India, Orissa inherits Śiva Cult which is more mythical rather than historical. But ancient Oriyas and their ancestors have rendered mythology less mythical and have rendered Saivism less mystical. In Orissa, Saivism is the real arsenal and soil for the mythic productions, legendary and artistic. The myths and the religious intermediaries in the myths are inter-woven in such a manner that they push back the Saivism of Orissa to the dim past as shades of that of the Indus Valley and of the Vedic India. In this Chapter we have looked into its perspectives at par with the sociological base.

Condition of Śiva Cult in the lower strata of society throughout India was essentially life-like and no new religion from the 6th Century B.C. could vie its influence. Among all, Buddhism at its second phase appropriated popular Saiva deities and rituals in it, and in return, it had set the Saivism in canonical order. Indra, Oḍāsunī and Uḍrayāna are the evidences of this reciprocation. Brahmana immigrants of Saiva and Vaisnava creed came from the Madhyadesa and the South. Under their influence dynastic kings lent their support to Saivism, and for this, gradually, Buddhism was put down and in its place Vaisnavism got born.

Orissa as it is Known To-day

Generally, Orissa is the land of Uḍra race and Oriya speaking people. It consists of some parts from ancient Kalinga, Kosala, Utkala, Tosali, Trikalinga and Kangoda. All the ancient kingdoms were disappeared within eleventh Century A.D. leaving Oḍradeśa to be known as Orissa. The origin of Oḍra race and their spoken language are still in dark. It is also not known if the Uḍras had to fight any other racial group for coming into prominence. There is no evidence of any battle among the racial groups but, often, one kingdom has extended its supremacy over the other, and in this way, Orissa came to live long on the grave-yards of all. It is the Soro Copper Plate of Somadutta (7th Century A.D.) which mentions, for the first time, the name of Uḍraviṣaya as an administrative unity in Uttara Tosali.[1] Prior to it, in the Manusamhita and in the Natyasastra of Bharata neither the Oriya race nor their language has got prestigious position. Bharata and Manu were exponents of Brahmanic social order and so, their classification of Oḍra race as *Mleccha* and of *Bhāṣa* as *Vibhāṣa* do not hold truth. Still prior to them, it is seen that the fifth Sunga king was known as Andhraka, Dhruka, Odruka etc. B. C. Sen has discussed much on the variant forms of the name of the said king.[2] It may support the view that prior to the beginning of Christian era Oḍra people with a kingdom were under the Sunga paramountcy. It coincides with the opinion of Manomohan Ghosh and Benimadhav Padhi to a certain extent. M. Ghosh says, "it is almost certain that the name Oḍra was older and enjoyed a greater prestige and for this reason, shared the honour with Magadha in giving a name to the eastern style of procedure which was called Oḍra-Magadhi". B. Padhi tracing out the origin of Oḍra race says that it has been derived from the root, 'Ud' meaning wet.[3] The description of Uḍra Viṣaya in the Soro Copper Plate and the opinion of B. Padhi indicate that the Uḍra race and Uḍra kingdom were originated and developed from the coastal plains. But the morphological divisions of Orissa and the system of habitation of early men may say that these were originated in the mountainous region, and were developed in the coastal plains and in the rolling uplands fed up by river actions.[4] There is (marriage assembly) by force. The kings of Kalinga were defeated by the conquerors; Sahadeva, Karna and Rama Yamadagnya, and as well as, by the combined forces of Sahadeva and Krusna. Again, Srutayu was killed by the son of Bhima. In the Pali literature it has been told that a king of Kalinga was defeated by a king of Assaka and the Kalinga king had to give his four daughters to Assaka king. Like this, Udayana, the king of Vatsa had defeated a king of Kalinga.[7] The history of Kalinga has become the history of defeat. Still it is said, "Kalingah sahasikah".[8]

The characteristic bravery of the Kalingas may be referred to the Kalingas who were under the leadership of Kharavela and also the Kalingas prior to him. The Kalingas prior to Kharavela were brave in some field other than battle ground. It is, perhaps, prior to the period of Kharavela, a difference in the generic property of the Kalingas was effected by religious practice. Kalinga does not seem to belong to Kui of the Kolarian race, it may belong to Mundari of the Austric race. By the time of Kharavela, Kalingās forming a group named Uḍra became his people to revenge against the Magadhas. The Uḍras were a tribe and later, they had a religious practice of their own, the feasibility of which we will see after-wards. So also the Kalingās were a religious group of the Austric race. As like as the Aryans, they were elites of the Mundari speaking people. It may class them with the people of the Indus Valley. Because, G. R. Hunter says about the Indus scripts that the peculiarities of language is more concerned to Munda-language.[9] It is not known if the term, Kalinga was in the Indus scripts. Most probably, Kalinga was there in a form of deity. D. P. Pattanaik says, "Although the term, Kalinga is a Proto-Austroloid one and an Austro-Asiatic substratum can be postulated in the Kalinga countries before the advent of Aryans, it is very interesting to note the gradual Aryan infiltration in this region."[10] Of course, he does not say what does the term, Kalinga mean to the Proto-Austroloids. To trace it out we may take the help of the Aryan infiltration in the region and also of the Mundas of this region. The Aryan infiltration is mainly concerned to the Vedic seer, Dirghatama, in whom lies the myth of Kalinga.

Dirghatama in Connection with Kalinga

The name of Kalinga is popularly connected with the episode about Dirghatama. It goes in the Mahabharata and in the Bhagavata Purana that he was born blind. It is because, while he was in his mother's womb, his uncle, Bruhaspati cohabited his mother, but he pushed him inside. Bruhaspati cursed him for his eros. He was born blind and was named, Dirghatama. He was amorous. He was left in care of his paternal cousin's hermitage. He was indulged in gross immorality. So he was expelled from the hermitage and was set adrift in the Ganga. He was carried in the down stream to the eastern Anava kingdom and there he was rescued by Vali, the king of the kingdom. The king had no son. As desired by Vali, his wife, Sudesna begot five sons by Tamas. Among the sons, one was Kalinga and the land given him to rule over was known as Kalinga.[11] These descriptions about Dirghatamas owed much to the Ṛk. III.128, in which he was born blind and he obtained his eye-sight by worshipping Agni.

Generally, Kalinga-raja has been accepted as the seed of Kalinga kingdom. But really it is not. In the Brahmanic order Kalinga kingdom was treated as a forbidden land for the Brahmanas. Kalinga was not of low origin. He came from Brahmana father and Asuri-mother. So, the off-spring of *Anuloma* system was, more or less, like the off-spring of endogamy. Moreover, Kalinga was not mean. It is seen that his son, Kakshivat begotten from Usij and Dirghatamas, was a great seer. This episode alongwith the other makes Dirghatamas a polygamous and amorous. In addition to it, his mother's sexual inter-course with Bruhaspati might have put him in low order and for his relation, the land was forbidden for the Brahmanas, not for Kalingaraja. The position of Dirghatamas may also be referred to the kings of Rome, Egypt and Babylone.

1. In the Babylonian myth, Sargon-1, (2600 B.C.) the founder of Akkadian dynasty was born in secret. His mother placing the infant in a basket threw in a river. He was drifted in the current. A peasant saw him and took him to his home. Under the care of the peasant the infant grew up and became

a gardener. Having the blessing and love of the goddess, Ishtar he became the king of Babylone.

2. In the Egyptian myth, Moses was drifted in a basket and he was caught up by Pharoah's daughter. Moses married her and became king of Egypt.
3. The Roman myth is that Rhea gave birth two sons, Romulus and Remus. Rhea's father was Numitar, the king of Alba Langa. Rhea was the beloved of Mars. She was separated from him. Her sons were set adrift in a river placed in a basket. They were caught up by a shepherd. When they grew up, they came to know that they were the legal heirs of the kingdom. However, Romulus slew Remus and he became the king of Rome.[12]

Among the legends, the similarity is evident, but it is difficult to ascertain the original one. There is similarity among Dirghatamas, Sargon, Moses and Romulus, but no similarity is with Kalingaraja. So, it is not possible to say that the name of the kingdom came after the name of the king, Kalinga. Rather, Dirghatama might have been the founder of the term, Kalinga, whether it might be a person or any dominating idea, of which he was the exponent. Now it may be asked as to what was the idea behind Kalinga? Again, Dirghatamas was saved in Anava kingdom which has been identified with Bhagalpur of Bihar. Here a question may come as to how was he associated with the land of Kalinga? The episode of Usija-Kakshivat threw light on his coming over the land of Kalinga. It is not wise to think that Kalingaraja and his son, Kakshivat got born by Dirghatamas. We have seen that Dirghatamas was the first-rate philosopher-poet among all the Vedic seers. His invocations to Agni, Visveḍevā (sun and earth) and Dyāvyāpruthivī are unparrallel. It may be true that he had come over the land where his deities, the Sun and the Earth, were meeting now and then. He had got his lost eye-sight by worshipping Agni. Really, it means he got rid of his eros by the help of austerity. On the basis of the myth, he must have reverence for worldly Agni. Besides, the Sun and the Earth were his end of philosophy. He must have been the Evangelist to preach the cults of the Agni, the Sun and the Earth in the meeting ground of the Sun and the Earth. In his opinion he is real wise who worships Agni and Sūrya equated (Rk. 1.164.18). With this idea of worship and with his philosophical view about them he was, possibly, in the land, which, later, known as Kalinga, because the region, from Bhagalpur of Kalinga, was holding all the sea coast from Ganjam to the Ganges delta and was forming a long compact curved wedge with its base on the sea coast and its point above Bhagalpur.[13] His philosophy, which we have seen above, has an impact over the Kalingās. That is the reason for which it is said, "Megasthenes who visited Kalinga in 302 B.C., long before the battle of Kalinga, has written that the Kalingās were a civilised people whose society was divided into classes which followed various occupations, including the study of philosophy and the taming of the wild elephants."[14] His philosophical view on worship of the Sun and the Agni might have resulted in Kalinga at par with the prevailing Bhakti cult of the Niṣāḍas of the land (Kalinga has been a name of the kingdom and it may also be taken as Linga, a type by itself, which stands for the Gramadevati. From the points of philosophical views and erotic features, Dirghatamas has coincidence with Śiva. Dirghatamas had close association with Kalinga kingdom. The relation between Dirghatamas and Kalinga kingdom may throw light on the Saivism of Orissa anterior to the 4th or 5th Century A.D.).

Sun Worship in Orissa brings Dirghatamas nearer Kalinga

The Sun worship was expressed in form on the body of Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar before Christian era. The Konark temple came into prominence during the thirteenth Century A.D. K. C. Panigrahi on the basis of Ptolemy's Geography says, "Though the existing temple belongs to the thirteenth Century A.D. the shrine of Arkatirth or Konark is, without doubt, very ancient and has been referred to in Ptolemy's geography as Kannagara identified with Konark".[15] All these push the Sun worship of Praci Valley back to the period of pre-Christian era. Along with hypothetical association of Dirghatamas with the land, the Kapila Samhita of the 15th Century A.D. mentions that Dirghatamas had seen

Pusa, (Sun) at Maitreya Vana which is situated in the sea shore near Candrabhaga river. Here stands a banyan tree known as Arkavṛksha which has been revered as the dwelling place of the Sun.[16] Identifying Candrabhaga with Chinab in Punjab, J. Dowson says "under the curse of Dur-Vāsa, Śāmba became a leper and retired to Punjab, where by fasting, penance and prayer he obtained the favour of Sūrya (sun) and was cured of his leprosy. He built a temple to the Sun on the banks of the Candrabhaga (Chinab) and introduced the worship of that luminary."[17] In the Praci Valley there is also a Muktitirtha with the presiding god, Suryesvara. It is familiar for Śāmba's legend. Moreover, in Orissa '*Śāmba-daśamī*' a festival has been observed with great care. It is not known how the importance of Candrabhaga in the Praci Valley was shifted to Chinab. It is seen that even the Vamana Purana in its Sauri Samhita glorifies the Arkakshetra. So also, the Markandeya Purana mentions that Rajya Varddhana ruling over his kingdom for seven thousand years went out to a forest named Guru Visala, frequented by the Siddhas, in Kamarupa and there he worshipped the Sun (Ch. CIX). The form of the Sun was gentle lunar orb (soma) in which he was worshipped and his first form was luminous (Agni). F. E. Pargitor editing the Markandeya Purana remarks elsewhere that Markandeya writing the Purana in the Vindhyan cave had not requisite idea of Kamarupa. To Pargitor Kamarupa is not to the eastern side of the Vindhyan cave. Of course, he is not clear about his remark. We think Markandeya had the intention of glorifying a *Janasthāna* presided over by the Sun and it was Maitreyavana of Praci Valley in the East. Praci Valley had the same glory of Janasthāna as like as Vindhyan cave and Tungabhadra Valley. Moreover, Kalinga was also treated as a part of Vindhyan region. F. E. Pargitor gives a remark from the practical point of view that in the Vindhyan region the Sun and Agni were in high pedestal preceding the period of supremacy of Śiva.[18] The Sun worship was always popular throughout India excepting a few families of the Vedic seers. Its only reason was that the Sun and the Earth were phallic deities. The Sun was superseded by Śiva through phallism. So was the case in Kalinga. Dirghatamas, Maitreyavana and Pusa, as we have told before, have the implication of the introduction of Śiva Cult through the Sun Cult of which Kalinga was the via media. Maitreyavana was the abode of the Vedic Mitras who have been identified with Mithraists of Persia or Central Asia. They had their phallic god, Pusa. He was made old and weak in Indian phallic worship. In the Daksha's sacrifice Śiva had knocked out his teeth and he became Bhaga instead of becoming Pusa. Dirghatamas invoked Visvedeva, "suyavasad bhagavati hi bhuyam atho bhagavantah syama" (Rk. 164.40). It is likely the Sun and the Earth, Śiva and Ambā were introduced in Orissa to be worshipped since those days.

The Agni has been equated with the Sun. It speaks about the interference of Dirghatamas in Kalinga. Now in every non-brahmin family the worship of Agni in the name of Isanadevata is peculiar and is important. They worship Isana in a corner of the kitchen and offer the food prepared first to the deity. The march of the Agni from Sarasvati to Sadanira has been told in the Satapatha Brahmana I. 4.1. The Boudhayana Dharmasutra has laid down injunction on the Brahmanas entering into Kalinga to undertake 'Vaisvanari isti' ritual.[19] Here the river, Sadanira has been identified with Mahanadi and the ritual, 'Vaisvanari isti' may mean a work pertaining to fire, which may be useful for the society. Vaisvanara is the son of Visvanara, (the sun) and 'isti' may be referred to istaputra of the Rk. X. 14.8. In this hymn the Agni is Tapah. The description of about spread of Agni in Kalinga may suggest that the fiery part of austerity came over Kalinga by the Aryans and it may go in favour of Dirghatamas who might have aryanised Kalinga. The name Dirghatamas itself may also justify this fiery part of austerity. An episode of the Markandeya Purana may be referred to in this context. It is said, "Bhuti, a disciple of Angirasa keeps the fire burning in his hermitage day and night. He was very irascible and so, he was used to shower bitter curses for small matters. He spoke harshly on the occasion of a transgression. Matarisvana, Prajanya, Sun, Moon—all could not do any harm to his hermitage. He has no child. On one occasion he left his hermitage to attend the sacrifice of his brother. He directed his disciple, Santi that he would watch over the fire, so that it would not be extinguished. But ill luck would have it, even after all efforts of Santi, the fire died out. Being afraid of Guru, Santi offered a hymn to the seven fires—Kāli, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sadhumra varnā, Sphulinginī and Visvasadā. They became pleased with him and granted a boon. The boon was that Bhuti would get a son. For a son, Bhuti was in austerity for long years with pains but he was failed.[20] It means Agni is not enough to bring the transcendental wealth and he should be accompanied with his energy, Soma or water. Dirghatamas was like Bhuti and it was manifested in Kalingan art, which we will see in the Chapter IV, and in the character of the Kalingas who were said to be quarrelsome for the development of their intrinsic merit (Va. 3.2.48).

Form of Worship of the Sun

We have seen that the Markandeya Purana mentions about the lunar orb with which Rajya Varddhana had worshipped the Sun and Dirghatamas, probably had introduced Bhaga and Bhagavati in the Praci Valley. The lunar orb is not different from the aniconic and boetylic objects of worship in the Indus Valley ; the former is recognised as Linga and the latter, Yoni. The boetylic forms are found pierced with cylindrical hole in the centre. The Sun and the Earth were revered as phallic deities and ancestor deities. The tribal people of India have a conception of Supreme God and the Sun is regarded as the visible form of that Supreme God. Lingo Pen is the phallic deity and the ancestor-god of the Muria Ghotul. So also are Marang Buru of the Santals and Saru Penu of the Kandhas. Sim Bonga and Jacar Bonga of the Saores and of the Mundas are sun-gods. These tribal gods are worshipped with boulders. The primitives cherished their idea of Supreme God from the Sun and the Earth. To them they were creators and also were created deities. The theology of Cosmology and Cosmogony does not depart from this early idea of the Supreme God. Only the patriarchy and matriarchy bring some change over the basic idea.

As Max Muller pointed out, the stones fallen from the sky have been worshipped in different countries. Meteoric stones of such type are worshipped in Troy. At Orchomenos, rude stones are worshipped with the belief that these were fallen from the sky.[21] Here the sky is determined as the Sun.

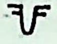
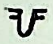
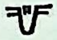
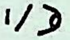
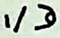
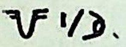
Dirghatamas credited ancestry of the human society to the Sun and the Earth. The ancestor-worship is observed by raising the pile of conical size. It has been discussed more in connection with folk-art and folk-festival (Infra, Ch. IV).

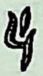
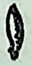
Connotation of Linga

The Sun and the Earth are represented by a Linga separately or combined. In each case a Linga connotes phallism or Bhagavatism. Generally, Linga stands as a formless form of Śiva. Śiva is a man-god and he must have a form. The idea of his formless form is conjectural or rather exalting. In the sense of symbol (Amarakosa 3.3.25) it has included 'śiva murttiviśeṣe ca' (Medini 23.21-22). But in the sense of a symbol, it signifies many gods and goddesses, and it is prevailing since the age of the Imperial Guptas. Claude Jacques, in his Introduction to Gayamahatmya afffrms that at Gaya, Brahmā has been represented by a Linga. The Narada Purana (II. 46-53) affirms Linga for Viṣnu and other gods. At Ramnagar, Varanasi there is a temple of Vyāsa, in which he is venerated in shape of a Linga. A sculpture at Vikrampur represents Devī in Linga form. A Devī is also seen in form of Linga in Śavaśivā temple at Varanasi. The Kalika Purana lays down principle for Durgā to be worshipped in Linga form.[22] Linga form of Śiva and Ambā precedes all following the Linga form of the Sun and the Earth. It is seen in every village outskirt. This is a traditional form of god and goddess coming down through out ages since establishment of each village. In every village shrine, there are two boulders, one big and the other small, or sometimes there are three boulders, one big and the other two small, representing either Bhagavati or *Jāgulai* or *Mangalā,* the three different varieties of goddesses. In every case, the Mother Goddess is enveloped with her male-counter part. Primarily they were the Sun and the Earth and later, they were known as Śiva and Ambā. For the popularity of Śiva Cult, Viṣnu and others were recognised in Linga.[23] Beginning from boulders, wooden logs, weapons, mountains, etc. to the extent of conical stones based on conditions of the Angirasa Samhita and the Linga Purana became Śivalingas. As V. P. Kanthimathinatha Pillai says, "Inanimate forms that do have or bear the forms of Śiva, or rather the forms that denote the Śiva's Grace and other attributes, are known as Śiva Lingams. The word Lingam means mark and the Śivalingam means the object having the mark of Śiva. Again Śivalingams are installed as such by Bakthas by recitation of various *mantras* having the efficacy of imparting mystic power to the idols and through them to the worshippers".[24] As Pillai means, the marks of mukhas (faces) may signify the transition of Śivalinga from Sūryalinga and Śivalingas without the base of Śaiva Puranas were, primarily, Sūryalingas and later, they were transformed. The myths justifying the transition will be seen later. The primary Lingas were, most probably, Ka-lingas in the sense of generation and fertility.

Feasibility of Ka-Linga Variety

In the Śaiva theology, there is no mention of Ka-Linga. But among various Lingas Jyotirlinga and Svayambhulinga are held high. In the esoteric literature the term, Jyoti is accepted as the Sun. In the Saiva Purana the Jyoti and the Sun mean 'Ka'. There is a description that Brahmā, in an egg, remained floating in the water for one thousand years and then, from within the egg, he divided the egg into two parts, the upper part became dyuloka (sky) and the lower part bhuloka (earth). They were recognised as 'Ka' and Bhava.[25] In the Amarakosa (3.3.5) 'Ka' means Marut, Brahmā and Sūrya. In the Purnacandra Bhaṣākoṣa 'Ka' stands for twenty-four gods—Brahma, Sūrya, Viṣnu, Śiva etc. Max Muller and J. Dowson identify 'Ka' with Prajāpati, Brahmana, Doksha, Kasyapa in the sense of Lord of all creatures. In this sense each one is no other than the Sun. In the Ṛk. Veda the Sun is *jagatah*—"āprā dyāvāpṛthivī antariksham sūrya ātmā jagaṭasṭa sthuṣasca" (Ṛk. I.115.1) and here *jagata* means Lord of creatures. He is also Hiranyagarbha and Puruṣa in the Ṛk. Veda. It is seen that he is invoked as "Kaṣmai ḍevāya haviṣā vidhema" (Ṛk. X. 121.1) and "kaviyamānah ka iha pravocad devam" (Ṛk. I : 164.18). In the former the seer, Hiranyagarbha and in the latter the seer, Dirghatama, are found invoking 'ka' and Sūrya respectively in the same order of ideas. With Dirghatamas 'ka' and Sūrya are indifferent. The term, 'Kasmai' with Hiranyagarbha has also been interpreted to mean 'Ka'. The meaning of the hymn is "whom do I invoke giving up Hiranyagarbha ?" Here the pronoun has been used in its fourth case ending.[26] So, it is not impossible that Sūrya worship was observed in the form of ka-Linga in ancient time.

In the Indus Valley Inscriptions and in the Vaisali Inscriptions 'Ka' and 'Linga' were co-related. During the period of the Indus civilisation there were 'Ka' god and also Linga god. They were different in the field of worship, but in the language they were jointly producing one phonemic Value. The letters were written from right to left. G. R. Hunter analyses that in the Indus Inscriptions 'Ka' was a suffix and it was written as  . This was a bi-syllabic word ak-ka (perhaps pronounced as single consonant). It is also seen that  and  are allied sounds. These two syllables are seen accompanied with  . In these cases the  portion represents pictorially a divine or heroic figure and the suffix and which stand for 'ka' means servant or like. The whole ideographic presentation  means a servant to god or hero.[27] It is not known the exactitude of the decipherment of G. R. Hunter. If we make the ideograph up side down and make a change of meaning, then 'ka' would mean a god or hero and other portion would mean a servant or Bhakta. The whole ideograph reveals a condition of non-dualism or Advait, because these syllables have no separation.

This position is also seen in the Vaisali Inscription. Swami Sankarananda deciphered Plate No. XLVIII, Seal No. 369. According to him  is the compound of the Śivalinga and a man with upraised hand. Here  has the sound value of 'ka'.[28] Here the Śivalinga may be Sūryalinga. The devotional sense of these two Inscriptions may be referred to Kalinga of Mundari language. We have told before that D. P. Pattanaik does not clarify the term, Kalinga of the Austric peoples.

C. A. Hans shows the use of the term in Mundari language and probably, the term has a religious sense of use.

Example : a)	ka, aling jom e mente nea ka ling roa akad a. Aling alingak bugin gati orok hoporjapak ren ko nea bakṛi re ling upanjad koa. (No, we have not planted all these for our eating. We are producing our good friends and neighbours in this garden.)

In this example ka means negation and aling means we. These two words combined together connote negation of the word, we. The phonim 'a' in aling is a prefix and it is used with the root to change the meaning as a kind of causative. So ka+aling=Kaling may stand to cause us to negate our identities. The word, Kaling has, possibly, a devotional back ground of negating one's identity before any animal life, heavenly body and also before natural phenomena. In Mundari language these include animate noun.[29]

From the use of Ka-Linga in the Inscriptions of the Indus Valley, in the Vaisali Inscription and in Mundari language, it seems, it was for the purpose of Bhakti (devotion) of the Bhagavatas (Phallic worshippers). The Bhagavatas may be called Kalingas and the land they occupied was called Kalinga, most probably, sometimes prior to Panini, Katyayana and Pingala. The period of these literary pioneers, according to Satyashrava, is eighth Century B.C.[30] By the time of eighth century B.C. the term Kalinga had acquired the position of creating Indras with the alchemic preparation of a corn known as Yava and so, Kalinga was meant Indrayava. With the alchemic preparation of Indrayava, Kalingas were getting "iḍi paramaiṣvarye" and they were popular as "pracīpati riṭyādīni nāmanīti bhāva".[31]

The Kalingas in the sense of caste and tribe were always in plural number in Sanskrit literature meaning inhabitants of Kalinga kingdom. In pronounciation the term came to us differently,—in the sense of symbol it is used as Linga and in the sense of kingdom and tribe or caste it is used as Linga. This difference came in due to inter-change of religious ideas between South India and Orissa. From the opinion of A.

Joshi on Ravanachaya of Keunjhar district it is known that the Saiva asceties were living in the caves there.[32] Again, in olden days there was no division between Kalinga and ancient Tamilakam and, therefore, there was a great inter-migration of people causing orthographic variations in their spoken languages. Because the northern boundary of Tamilakam was Northern Venkatam which was a part of the Eastern Ghats. So P. Pradhan shows that the retroflexive ḷa has come from the Dravidian source lṛ.[33]

Evidence of Ka-Lingas in Orissa

With the view of Bhagavatism (phallism) both the Sun and Śiva may be classed in a representation of Ka-Linga and Indra moves in between them. He is a phallic god, but he has no Energy as like as the Earth and Ambā. As regards Śiva, it is true that he is Sun-god but not the Sun. That is the reason the Sun is represented in Jyotirlinga or Ka-Linga. We have shown above the identities of Sūrya-linga and Śiva-linga. During the medieval age of religious development all the Lingas were appropriated by the Śiva Cult following the changing programme of Buddhism. In Orissa, the Kalingas for becoming Indras were so much devoted to the Jyotirlinga or Ka-Linga and it was very difficult for the Uḍras to create a distinct identity of their deities, Śiva and Ambā. Rather, Śiva and Ambā were always under the veil of the Sun and the Earth. Saraladaṣ has pointed out some Śivalingas, but they are really Ka-Lingas. One such description may be seen in the Dharmavaka-Yuḍhisthira episode. In this episode Dharmavaka getting all answers from Yudhisthira turned into a Svayambhulinga and remained at Kapalesvara tirtha.[34] Now one Kapalesvaralinga is in the Praci Valley and the Linga is known as Śivalinga. Dharma, here, is the Sun. Of course, Śiva, Viṣṇu and others have come into the scope of Dharma. Still in popular religious ideas Dharma means the Sun.

Another episode has been created for Tryambakalinga in Dakshina Kosala. In this connection Saraladas says, "Ramacandra desired to worship Śiva and he directed Laxmana to trace it out. Laxmana failed in searching out a Śivalinga. He stuck his arrow on Kanayagiri. The arrow was turned into a Linga increasing its body in both sides, one side covering the heaven and the other side the under-world.[35] This episode has correspondence with the most popular episode of Lingodbhava of the mythologies." The world is in deluge. There is no new creation. The world is floating in the water. Viṣnu is laying in the water encompassing all in him. He was asleep in austerity. Just at the same time one such light came from the water. Viṣnu at the sight of this light became astonished. He was Brahmā, skilled god of creation. Every one thinks himself greater than the other in respect of creation. A quarrel arose between them. Creation was not effected. So, all of a sudden, one all-amazing light came in. He was the Creater. At the sight of this light, both Viṣnu and Brahmā became alarmed. A few moments passed away. A Linga come out of that light. No one could see its beginning and end. Brahmā went high up and Viṣnu went underneath. Age after age passed away. Nobody was successful. They came back. Mahādeva came out from that Linga and said that he was the real authority of creation, none of the two". Certainly, these episodes do not refer to Śivalinga. This writer has shown its feasibility in his "Akhandalamaṅi Itivrutta". C. V. N. Ayar in his 'Saivism in South India', showing an instance from the 'Rajatarangini' says that Śiva had worshipped Linga on the occasion of his marriage. W. J. Wilkins has also shown that Pārvatī worshipped Linga to get Śiva as husband.[36]

We have told that on the eve of Daksha's sacrifice, Śiva knocked out the eyes of Bhaga and himself became Bhaga. This episode might have reference to the occasion prevailing in the Indus Valley, but it does not concern to the occasions regarding incorporation of Śivalinga in phallic worship of all other regions of India. Incorporation of Śivalinga as phallic god in any particular region is subject to brahmanisation of that particular region. It has been said in the Śiva Purana, —"Once Śiva was wandering naked. Śiva entered into Daruvana. There was a *Janasthana* (abode of seers) in that Daruvana. At the sight of naked Śiva a commotion was created and all cursed him out of hatred that his penis would fall down. All of a sudden his penis was detached from his body and it began to move from place to place burning everything that came on its way. Neither it could be stopped nor could it be extinguished. As a result, the world began to be burnt.

At last the people took shelter with Pārvatī. Pārvatī became pleased with the prayers of the Brahmacāries and she held it in her *Yoni*. Then according to the advice of Brahmā all began to worship Śiva in the form of Linga."[37] Acceptance of Śivalinga might have been effected in the Brahmanic creed prior to Gautama Buddha, the feasibility of which we have shown later. Moreover, the Kalingas were not different from Śiśnadevas who were discredited in the Ṛk. VII. 21.5 and Rk. X. 99.3. It may also be a fact due to the dominance of the Śiśnadevas in Kalinga, the land was forbidden for the Brahmanas even during the period of the Buddha. That is the reason for which *Grāmadevatī* has been held high in the religious life of the Oriyas. Now these *Grāmadevatīs* are under Saivism, but really, they were primarily ka-Lingas associated with the rites of fertility and generation. The position of *Grāmadevatī* of Orissa is something peculiar in India. Unlike other parts of India *Grāmadevatīs* in Orissa are graceful (Infra, Ch. V). Many of them have been converted to Saivite Lingas in the name of Bhairava and Bhairavī and by virtue of Brahmanisation. A. Eschmann says, "the pillars in Kandhamala area in the district of Phulbani were primarily symbols for Mother-Goddess, but they are frequently and proudly referred to by the people as Linga.[38] Such symbols of Mother-Goddesses are always determined to be contained with the Sun, and later, with Śiva.

Conception of Bhairava in Saivism

Bhairava is a human teacher having emancipation. The tantric literature connected him with Vedic Aja Ekapada, with Vrātyadeva and with the Yogins. Saraladas describes about one's becoming Bhairava. Once upon a time Śiva in the guise of Sumeka was collecting Kusa grass and was keeping these in the bank of the Ganges. Nandini came and ate those all. At this Sumeka became angry and killed her with his trident. At the sight of her death Sumeka became frightened and became Bhairava. He left all brahmanic rituals and did everything good and bad.[39] It means one's becoming Bhairava is related to his frightening being conscious of his own being. The frightening brings deformation in one's natural state of being, in and out. The Śivasutra describes Bhairava as "narttaka ātmā" (III. 9). It means Bhairava is a state of arrest produced by any intense emotion or sensation. Consciousness of his being has two effects—fright and bliss. Bhairava may not be different from Rudra.

In the process of transformation of ka-Linga into Bhairava the basic concept of Indra forms the link between the two. Fundamentally, Indra was a tantrin and the Kalingās were leading towards the same prospect of tantricism. It not only resulted in emerging Bhairavas, but also gave rise to communal deities like Patarasauruṇī, Dominī, Oḍāsunī etc. of Saiva group. It was most probably, effected through the transformation of the Kalingās into the Uḍras.

The history of the Kalingas is the history of their defeats in the battle fields. 'Kalingah sāhasikāh' of Visvanath Kaviraj was not for its meaning of the lexicograph, it was for an indirect meaning (Vyanjana). They had plundered the jewels of Ashoka. It may be a fact that they were pearl-divers. Certainly, the Kalingās were a sea-faring caste. It was not impossible that they would have plundered wealth from the Mauryan Empire. Bravery in this field brought them a war, in which they were greatly put down by Ashoka. With the lapse of a period about two hundred years the Kalingās under the leadership of Kharavela became able to revenge against the Magadhas. It is not known how could the defeated Kalingas gather strength? It is simply a change of spirit which has close correspondence with the spirit of Saivism. Śiva encouraged heroism. It comes in the mythologies. So also the Kalinga war of Ashoka is mythical and it was in the root of all war descriptions of Mythologies. On the basis of great devastations, which had been mentioned in the Inscription of Ashoka, if we believe that "Kalinga in his time included the entire region now known as Orissa".[40] We must believe in skilled hands of the bow-arrowmen living in the Plateaus and Rolling Uplands of Orissa to-day and were living then in great number. The Nisadas were Saivas and a few of them were aryanised by Dirghatamas, and they had formed Kalinga kingdom. So it is likely Kalinga was laying in a narrow strip in the coastal region. It is also possible that for administrative purpose Ashoka had placed two Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada.

The Plateaus and the Rolling Uplands in present Orissa were parts of Vindhyan region and were under Kosala administrative unit. From the present study of the tribes living in the Southern and the South-Western parts of Orissa, there are Oriya-speaking Relli, Godagula, Dombu, Dhakkado, Porja, Korono and Mali tribes. Besides, there are six main sub-divisions bearing the names of Marigani, Kobbiriya, Odiya, Sebadasiya, Andimiya and Mandiri. They were athlets, jugglers, thieves, dacoits and burglars.[41] These professions speak about their physical strength. Among them now the Malis are Sevayatas in the temples of Śiva and Sakti and it may be their hereditary profession. From the present position of Oriya-speaking tribes, it may be said that during the period of Kharavela they were united and were swayed away by a clarion call of Oriya Nationality of some one and Kharavela had taken the best advantage of their physical strength. Basically, they were nomadic tribes, but during the period of Kharavela they had obtained permanent habitations and had adopted agriculture as their livelihood. Such inference may be supported by the position arose out of Kalinga war of Ashoka.

When a terrible battle was fought in Kalinga, it is possible, the neighbouring areas would have been alarmed and they would have gone into the forest regions. The Kalingās were Oriya speaking castes. Ashoka had deported a fair percentage of the Kalingās. As R. Thapar thinks—"Ashoka made the deported Kalingās to clear the forested lands and to cultivate the virgin lands, but the farmers were left unmolested by the armies."[42] The fugitives and the deported soldiers were left to farming in the upper parts of the river valleys of Mahanadi and Vaitarani. The deported Kalingās might have been less in number than the Oriya speaking tribes. In course of acculteration, the Oḍiā tribes would have their phallic deity, Oḍāsunī and the Kalingās would have been left to follow their foot-prints for agricultural production. They were the Uḍrakas with a spoken language of Uḍra-Vibhasa, to which B. Padhi has taken much care to establish in his 'Uḍraja Prakruta'.

The Uḍras were evolved as a caste in a region between the river valleys of Mahanadi and Vaitarani. Later, the ruling agency of the Uḍras were known as Bhanjas, but the region they ruled over was known as Uḍra Viṣaya. The Bhanja kings became sophisticated Kshatriyas just like the Rajbansis of Assam. The Rajbansis are mainly persons of the Koch and Mech tribes who have assumed this name on conversion to Hinduism. Like this, the Bhanjas, a detribalised caste, have been forged out of various tribal groups and have formed an integrated part of the Oriya Caste. So are the Karanas, the Brahmanas, the Khandayatas, the Malis, the Kaivarttas etc. But with the process of detribalisation of the tribes, the inborn predisposition and instinctive urges of the tribes-men, which owed allegiance to their chief or the administrative body, were transferred to the wider circle of the Oriya. The local groups as evolutionary units increased in size, passing from a tribal to a national stage, the power of assimilating fresh gens was practised in ever-widening Circles, but the fresh gens incorporated were always from the same wide areas and of nearly the same genetic origin. Later on, these new groups were amalgamated, gradually losing their inheritances and became conscious of that larger national unit, the Oriya. Bhanjabhumi was the nucleus riverine region in which the Udras came out sophisticated and formed such a greater national unit. At about seventh century A.D., according to epigraphic records, Odra had got the status of an administrative division in Uttara Tosali. As S. N. Rajguru remarks on the travelling of Huen-Tsang and on his description about 'U-tu' or Odra, it seems, by the time of Huen-Tsang Odras had extended their kingdom upto the coastal area within present Balasore and Cuttack districts. While Huen-Tsang proceeded from Manbhum and Dhalbhum to Kangoda, he would have passed through a part of Odra country. So he remarks—"The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so, there was no powerful enemy. . .".[43] Here "the towns naturally strong" and "from the slopes of the hills" may indicate the locations of the towns in the mountainous area in upper parts of Mayurbhanja and Keunjhar districts of present Orissa. When did the Udras extend the territory of their kingdom up to the edge of the sea? There is no epigraphic record to corroborate the fact that Odra kingdom, for the first time, was started in upper part of the river valley within Mahanadi and Vaitarani.

We have seen that it was the nucleus and virgin land for the fugitives and deported soldiers during Kalinga war of Ashoka. It is Bhanjabhumi which commemorates the founder in the name of Gaṇadanḍa Vīrabhadra who stands a bridge between the religious practices of the Kalingas and of the Uḍras. As like as Śiva of the Indus Valley, 'Gaṇadanḍa Vīrabhadra' carries the religious significance of the dark period of Orissa.

Gaṇadanḍa Vīrabhadra has become a mythical founder in the Kesari Copper Plate of Satrubhanja. He is said to have come from Vasistha lineage, to have born from peacock egg and to have established 84,000 villages.[44] Gaṇadanḍa being peacock-egg born speaks about his totemistic culture which is characteristic feature of the Kandhas of Mongoloid stock of blood, and primarily, it is opposite to the Sabaras of Austric stock. It is very difficult to determine the stock of blood of Gaṇadanḍa Vīrabhadra and of the Bhanja rulers. We have told before about the anthrôpological groupings (supra., Ch. 1). The family, the clan and the tribe were, in the past, moving agencies till settled habitations were established and they were moving, assimilating their blood, culture, custom and tradition, with cult spots, and sometimes, the Mongoloid groups are found to have adopted *Jakarmmā* of the Austric groups as their '*Bhūdevatā*', who has a strong impact over the social life of the sophisticated Oriyas.[45] In the nomadic stage of the Uḍra tribe there was no choice of tatems. They had no hero or man of distinction whose memory was to be perpetuated through selection of totem. The totem of peacock signifies a higher stage of development of Bhanja family which had kept an account their kinship and descent. Gaṇadanḍa was their man of distinction and so, he was commemorated. It seems from him the emphasis of the establishment was shifted from tribal ties to social responsibility, under which the social transition and territorial expansion were effected. His being egg-born means he was taken into Aryan Culture and his Visistha lineage means his being a custodian of the religious view of Vasistha. Taking the ancient religious practices of Bhanja family and Bhanjabhumi, and the hymn of Vasistha, (Rk. VII. 59.12) which we have discussed above, (Supra. Ch. II) into account we may say that he was a Śaiva. His establishment of 84,000 villages may not be true, but, most probably, he had established some habitations in that nucleus region and he had initiated the people with the doctrine of one's becoming of Rudra or Tryambaka meaning Trimāturā. Here one's becoming of Rudra depends upon his inter-play of Prāna in three principal nerves—iḍā, Pingalā and Suśumna. It is evident in his name that he had practised this Hathayoga and initiated others in his line. So, folk festivals like Dandayātrā and Uḍā festival were popular among the Uḍras and today these are observed.

The name, Gaṇadanḍa Vīrabhadra has reference to the episode of 'Sankhacuḍāvadha' of the Śiva Purana. Śiva and Kālī had fought Sankhacuḍā. Sankhacuḍā was their devotee. Śiva and Kālī fought him with the help of their Gaṇas, among which Vīrabhadra was the leader—"Vīrabhadra gaṇāgranih" (Ch. CI. 42). In that battle, Kālī fought with a stick in hand—"Cogradanḍā" (Ch. CII. 3) but Sankhacūḍa had to fight saluting by laying flat on the ground (Ch. CII. 8). Sankhacūḍa had to repeat the same process when he fought Śiva also.

From this episode, it seems, a man, as like as Śiva in the Indus Valley, of Saiva creed was revered like Vīrabhadra gaṇāgraṇi by the Uḍras who were established from the mountainous region to the sea edge. The term '*danḍa*' has also reference to '*danḍa*' in the hand of Kālī and to the devotion of Sankhacuḍā through *danḍa* (salutation) and so the term connotes torture,—self-torture and torture to others in the sense of mortification. It seems the name of the man who had introduced this Hathayogic process in Uḍradeśa was superseded by 'gaṇadanḍa'. *Danḍa* and self-torture are main criteria of the *Danḍa* Yātrā and *Uḍāparva*. or *Jhāmuyātrā*. Devotees who observe these festivals are called Bhagatās. While the rustic people say it Bhagatā, the puritans say it Bhakta. It seems the term Bhagatā is a deformative of Bhaktā. But really, this term has more concern to *Bhaga* than *Bhakta*. The Bhāgatas may be called Danḍins who have correspondence with the Bhāgavatas or phallics. This we have indicated before-hand (supra, Ch. I).

We have seen that Dinḍika of the Pada Taditakam and Dandins of our postulation are owed much to the term Danḍa. It is said that Danḍin was one of the seven Saiva sects,—Danḍin, Sanyasin, Brahmacarin, Paramahamsa, Lingait, Aghorin and Yogin. Samkara had established Danḍin sect. There were ten kinds of Danḍins known as *Daśanāmi*. They were holding and were worshipping Danḍa.[46] But the Danḍin sect is much anterior to Samkara. Perhaps, Samkara had brought a reformation on it. Basically, it was a symbol of phallic deity. It is seen that the Danḍins of Samkara were not allowed to beg from the doors of the non-Brahmanas. Much before Samkara the term, Danḍika or Danḍin was used for humour in literary tradition. Sudraka is found to have used the term figuratively in his 'Padmaprabhṛtakam'. There are two such terms, Chauksa Vādita and Danḍasuka. S. P. Tewari clarifies '*danḍasuka*' a mischievous venomous serpent or a devil like this. So also Chauksa Vādita has been used as a nickname of Pavitraka. Vita observes the activity of Pavitraka who is in amorous dalliance with harlots. Pavitraka is clever and poses himself to be a holy person. He has secret affairs with '*Pumschali*'. In colloquial Oriya '*Cokhā*' means a great clever. According to Abhinavagupta "Coksāh bhagavata viśesāh ye ekāyana iti prasidhāh". In the Bhagavata Purana, Coksa is used "bhāgavata prapana ekāntin". In one sense Bhagavata is very rigid about puritanity and in the other he is playing with Bhaga. Again it is referred to Visnu Dasa in the 'Padataditakam' of Shyamilaka. Here Visnu Dasa is called "Vetra danḍa kunḍika-bhānḍa sucita vṛshala cauksa amātya". Visnu Dasa is holding staff in one hand and a Kamandalu (water pot) in the other, but really, he is a *coksā*.[47] This Danḍa and the Danḍin have a profound impact over the social life of the Oriyas who enriched the folk-lore of Orissa. Except the folk-lore, there is no literary evidence in Orissa to support the view that the Danḍin sect was grown in Orissa and was developed in the South. Still religious relation between Orissa and the South was there much prior to Sudraka (600 A.D.) and so, it was appropriated in the South prior to the 600 A.D. In this background, it may be said that the transformation of Bhagavatas into Danḍins was effected in Orissa and its antiquity may be pushed back up to the period of one's becoming

Gaṇadanḍa Vīrabhadra. We have assigned him the third Century B.C., the period following the Kalinga war of Ashoka, when he might have come into prominence.

Besides, he was also known as Vīrabhadra. In the religious history of Saivism in Orissa, the Puranic Vīrabhadra is much warranting and so, this had been an appellation for the man in Bhanjabhumi. It was Vīrabhadra who had pulled out the eyes of Bhaga on behalf of Śiva in the sacrificial altar of Daksha. The episode goes that Daksha deprived Śiva of his sacrificial offerings. Umā urged Śiva to display his power and assert his rights. So he created Vīrabhadra, "a being like the fire of fate", and of most terrific appearance and powers.[48] He could realise the rights of Śiva. In this issue he is as like as Rudra.

We can count upon his two main works, his pulling out the eyes of Bhaga and his realising the rights of Śiva over sacrifice, for the antiquity of Saivism and of Vīrabhadra of Orissa. The association of Vīrabhadra with these two issues, though hypothetical, can not be abated. Firstly, the Sun had innumerable eyes and all were shifted to Sivalinga. Mukhalingas of Bhubaneswar and of Sitabanji may be taken to show innumerable eyes and all were shifted to Śivalinga. Mukhalinga at Bhubaneswar has been converted from Boudha stupa as there was rivalry between Buddhism and Saivism.[49] The enmity between Buddhism and Saivism in Orissa was not arresting which had resulted in conversion of Boudha stupas into Śivalingas. Rather these two religions were passing through close reciprocation. Its name of Bhaskaresvara may push its antiquity prior to the 5th Century A.D. The name indicates a commemoration of its early phase. It was, perhaps, a Ka-Linga and was converted to Śivalinga. The Mukhalinga at Sitabanji of Keunjhar district is of this variety. It has pornographic feature. This Mukhalinga is associated with the *Raja* festival which bears phallic trait. So, the said Mukhalinga speaks about its transition. These two ancient Mukhalingas can be put in the same line of Kotilinga in Khiching area of Mayurbhanj district.

The Mukhalingas bear the testimony of membrum virile and in addition to it, there are Mukhas (faces). Most probably, the former was their basic form and faces were added to them later, either during Kushana period or during Sunga-Kushana period. The Kushanas were phallic worshippers. During the reign of the Kushanas the Buddhism was modified according to tantric and phallic characteristics of Saivism. Discovery of Kushana coins in various places of Orissa may support the cause that there was Kushana influence in some way or other. Multifrons were added to Linga on account of Śiva being Bhaga. So the Taittiriya Samhita glorified 'Virupebhyo' and the 'Kumarasambhava' glorified, "Vapurvirūpaksām laksyajanmata".[50] All ugly forms were conceived as the greatness of Śiva. In the Indus Valley Śiva was with three faces. But in medieval Europe there was a painting of a Duchess in ugly form which was the greatest artistic creation. Through the spread of Mithraism in Eurasia, the Sungas, and the Kushanas might have been aware of this masterpiece. During the age of the Sungas and the Kushanas a vast number of people from Central Asia came over India and they were mixed with indigenous people. They were Mithraists. The Mukhalingas of Gudimallam, Sitabanji and Bhubaneswar might have come out of their interference. H. D. Bhattacharya says in this respect, "the god usually carved with two or four hands, with his bull-mount and Nandi by the side, but a tendency to multiply the form is seemed to have come from the coins of Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushana rulers".[51] It seems the Mukhalingas were the combining form of Ka-Linga and Śivalinga. The Mukhalinga of Sitabanji may be the first representation of such variety in India as it is linked with Raja festival. The membrum virile part above the faces was, perhaps, its original form and the faces were carved out during Sunga-Kushana period. In the phallic world all the Sun-gods—Priapus, Baccus, Osiris, Hermes and Seti were worshipped by their Lingas. In this region there was Nataraja who was also worshipped with his erected penis. From the artistic point of view, the Mukhalinga was there prior to Nataraj image of 4th century A.D. This Mukhalinga was the replica of Koti-linga, which, as N. N. Basu thinks, has given rise to Kuting, the name of a place, in Koisari Praganna of Mayurbhanj district. The place also refers to Kottasrama of Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra.[52] Many scholars identify Kottasrama of Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra with Kotah in Rajastan. However, Koting and Kotah might have been derived from Koti-linga. In the Indus Valley there was a Supreme God with oval marks. There were Kotisvara Lingas in Kotah and Mewar of Rajastan.[53] Moreover, James Tod clarifies that these Mukhalingas of Rajastan were the creations of Jits of Juteland, Central Asia. The Koti-linga was primarily Ka-Linga, but the association of Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra with it signifies its transition which might have been taken place during Sunga-Kushana period.

We will find trace of Vīrabhadra in the description of pilgrimage of Yudhisthira in the Mahabharata, Vana Parva. Lomasa speaks about Kalinga that in the northern bank of Vaitarani there were hermitages. Once while the hermits were performing sacrifice, Rudra had taken away his share of offerings (Vana Parva, Ch. 114.6-8). This description coincides with the devastation caused by Vīrabhadra in the sacrifice of Daksa. The description of Lomasa indicates the presence of Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra and for this, the man was, later, known as Vīrabhadra. It means he was known throughout Uḍravişaya laying in the northern bank of Vaitarani and Uḍravişaya, then, was extended to the Southern bank of Vaitarani. From the remark on Srirama Kasyapa of Pistopur of S. N. Rajguru, "(he has) ousted the Matharas from Sakala-Kalinga and advanced their sway as far north as the Vaitarani at Viranja-nagar", it is not known exactly if Virajanagar was in the northern bank of Vaitarani, but a reading of it with the travelling report of Huen-Tsang may lead to the fact that the northern bank of Vaitarani was included then into Uḍravişaya. Of course, the location of Vaitarani near Virajanagar is a matter of controversy. This writer has taken care to locate it in his Akhandalamani Itivrutta. To the West side of Jajpur, Vaitarani has been bifurcated; one is called Budha Vaitarani and the other Vaitarani. A few miles away, from the place of their bifurcation, there is *Olāsuṇi Thākuraṇī* near by Budha Vaitarani. Olāsuṇī is no other than Oḍāsuṇi, the cult-spot of Uḍra tribe. It is peculiar that the deity was recognised as Buddhist deity during medieval period. We will look into its feasibility later.

In connection with the pilgrimage of Yudhisthira, Lomasa speaks about a Bedi. Svayambhuvamanu donated the land to Kasyapa, for which it sunk down out of remorse. Seeing this

Manu prayed her and she came out. Many scholars identify it with Puri according to the description (Vana Parva, Ch. 115). In the present position the land between two Vaitaranis fits into the description of the Mahabharata. There is no such place at Puri. Whatever truth may be there in the description of the Mahabharata on pilgrimage, but the sinking down of the Earth out of remorse has worth to connect the condition with Rudra and Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra. The condition indicates the period when there was no proprietory authority over the land in the Virajanagar of any king or Manu. This period is the dark period following the Kalinga war of Ashoka.

In this back ground, the antiquity of Uḍra viṣaya, of the transformation of Ka-Linga into Śivalinga and of emerging of Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra may be assigned to the period following the Kalinga war of Ashoka. The development of Śiva cult during the medieval period has been so influenced and mutilated by the Buddhism that it always gives the airs of Buddhism.

Influence of Buddhism on Saivism in Orissa

Buddhism flourished in Orissa from the 7th Century A.D. and it was highly patronised by the Bhaumakara rulers like Ksemankaradeva, Sivakaradeva I and Subhakaradeva II. During this period there were great Buddhist scholars like Luipa, Kahnupa, Tilapa, Jalandharipa, Anangavajra, Savaripa, Kambalapa, Vajrapani and there was famous Ratnagiri Vihara for their learning and teaching Buddhist ideology of Mahayanic Order. Sometimes, Uḍḍiyānā is identified with Orissa and it is taken into account of Buddhist tantric centre which contrasts our opinion of Saiva centre. Besides, influence of Buddhism on Saivism can be estimated from Uḍḍiyānāpitha, Linga worship and deities in vogue in Orissa.

Significance of Boudhapitha Uḍḍiyānā

Though there is no unanimity among the scholars in identifying Uḍḍiyānā with Orissa, the similarity between two names draws them nearer to be one and the same. Uḍḍiyānā has got the status of the place of pilgrim in Buddhist literature, the annals of the T'sang dynasty of China, the Hevajratantra and the miniature Nepalese manuscript. All these literary evidences cannot be anterior to the 8th century A.D. As we have seen above Orissa and Kalinga were regarded as Saiva pitha since round about the third century B.C. But it is a fact that Orissa as a place of pilgrim was popularised far and wide through Buddhism. It is the peculiarity of Buddhism that it has grown with the aid of traditional and the Vedic tenets of Saivism, and the reformation brought in the Buddhism caused Saivism to follow its foot-prints with a little deviation. The deviation preserved in Saivism was its own traditional spirit. The propriety of Buddhism is perceptible in all shades of Saivism in Orissa. Particularly, the feasibility of Uḍisā being the Boudha pitha may be viewed from the development of Buddhism with the proximity of Saivism.

Śiva was best known in Kapilavastu, the birth place of Gautama Buddha. It comes in the opinion and quotation of N. N. Vasu. "We find in Lalita Vistara and also in the accounts given by one of the Chinese travellers that the Sakyas of Kapilavastu were worshippers of Śiva. In the latter account we find the following: outside this gate, was a temple of Isvaradeva containing a stone image of the God in the attitude of rising and bowing. This was the temple into which the infant prince (the P'usa), on the way from the place of his birth to the palace, was carried by command of the king, his father, (who was present with the party) to be presented to the God according to the custom of the Sakyas."[54] Gautama grew up. He saw life transitory. Illness, old age and death—all bring sorrows. He searched after the reasons which bring sorrows. He found out craving. He got it through the practice of *āphānakayoga* (Yoga of psychic expansion). But after achieving perfection he pressed upon meditation. This was his means for conquering over thirst. People followed him but in vain. He directed them to seek an isolated and simple life by the means of meditation. Still his meditation was not simple reflection of abstract subjects, but trances of self-hypnotism. He laid down injunctions: 1. Not to take life, 2. Not to steal, 3. To refrain from unlawful sexual intercourse, 4. Not to tell lies, and 5. Not to drink intoxicating liquors.

Under this condition monastic life became hazardous. Various opinions arose. So during the 4th Century the Buddhism saw eighteen different sects, which are grouped under four heads—Mahāsanghikā, Sthavirā, Sarvāstivāda and Samitiya. "Buddhism began as a religious movement confined to recluses dwelling in monasteries and had very little to do with the existing social systems and religious beliefs".[55] The traditional belief could not allow the commandments of Buddha to cross the territories of North Indian in which he travelled for about 45 years. This belief was no other than belief in Phallism. It was his opposition. It was in necessity of an Imperial Power.

Ashoka entered into the field as a lay disciple. He pushed forward Buddhism into unknown tracts in India and abroad. But his own religious view was revealed in the name of Dhamma. In India it was engrafted in number of Rock Edicts. Stupas were erected. The Rock Edicts in Orissa bore the instructions to the officers to look into the paternal relation of Ashoka with the Kalingas. So also Rock Edicts outside Kalinga bore the testimony of mythic war histories. The uniform formula were the glorification of his military strength and it was intended to show that he could raise lamentation in enemy camp, he could create streams of blood and could carry war-prisoners in large number. For his Buddhist works might have checked the traditional phallism in Kalinga. Kalinga took a different turn. It brought Śiva in place of the Sun and Indra.

After Ashoka much extravagance entered into popular Buddhism. So Buddhism saw its reformation during the period of Kaniska and Asvaghosa. In this third phase of reformation Buddhism accepted traditional beliefs and customs of the mass. The dissident section won over the orthodox. So a division came as—Mahayana and Hinayana. Asvaghosa and Kaniska remained in the Mahayana camp. For the patronisation of Sungas and Kushanas the Samitiya group of old Buddhism gave rise to Guhya Samaj which became the combining phase of Boudha and Saiva systems. As a result, the Arhat-hood of the Hinayana was superseded by the Bodhisattvahood of the Mahayana. It was based on the Tathata doctrine of Asvaghosa. The Tathata doctrine brought the doctrine of second birth into its fold. It was more developed through the Madhyamika school of Nagarjuna and through the Vijnanavada school of Maitreya (4th Century A.D.). Later, Vajrapani of Mangalakostha was, perhaps, the chief exponent of Vajrayana sub-section, which had strong influence on religious life of Orissa, of Mahayana. Vajrapani was, perhaps, a tantrin in Orissa, sometime about 8th century A.D. and he was revered in Tibet as the Hindu god, Indra. Mangalakostha may be identified with Mangalapur and Kothar of Bhadrak sub-division. Those two villages are situated by the road side from Bhadrak to Aradi, which is famous for Akhandalesvara. The very name and fame of the Linga prompt us to say that it has been effective by Vajrapani. This may be the reason for which Balasore district is packed up with Buddhist images.

Like Vajrapani there was Indrabhuti associating with Vajrayana and Uḍḍiyānā. They may be taken as the synonyms of Indra till their biographical records are found out. They were tantra-Yogins of Uḍrayana and they were appropriated by Mahayana. Perhaps there were dreadful situations in Tibet and Udisa, so in acculteration of the regions, the Buddhist tantrins were recognised as the Vedic Indra. The situation in which Indra became Vajrapani has been described by H. Hackmann as follows: "The terror of dangerous and dreadful spirits rules to an astonishing extent. It is undoubtedly connected with the awe-inspiring powers of nature which surround the Tibetans. Those gloomy mountain ravines and desolate peaks, those waste mysterious plateaus and morasses, those snowy summits and glaciers, those stony wastes, those icy and terrible severe tempests, landslips, avalanches, thunder storms, and earthquakes, the last of which are of frequent occurrences in Eastern Tibet—such things are a fruitful soil for superstitious imagination. And Buddhism simply accepted and accentuated this tendency. It came provided with a powerful equipment of deities, charms and methods of exorcism, of the Mahayana doctrine from Northern India and this equipment so completely coalesced with the existing superstitions of Tibet that it is difficult to know which was the conqueror and which was the conquered." The dorje, the equivalent of the ancient thunderbolt of the Hindu god Indra, was used for the exorcism.[56] The Buddhism conquered over the people with the help of thunderbolt in the hands of Indra (Vajrapani). The Uḍras living in the Subdued Plateaus and Rolling Uplands were living in the same condition of the Tibetans of Bon Religion. So it is not impossible that the tantrin at Sambala was recognised as Indrabhuti. It is astonishing, in the Sonpur Grant of Satrubhanja, there was a donee named Akhandala, son of Mahodadhi.[57] In this Grant, there is also mention of his native place, but, the names, Akhandala and Mahodadhi connote a relation of Indra with water. Of course, during the period from 4th to 10th Century A.D. the Brahmacaris immigrated into Orissa were tantrins. Most probably, due to popularity of Indra a Brahmacari was recognised by a synonym of Indra.

We have seen above that Kalingas were leading towards becoming Indra and Dirghatamas had aryanised Orissa and had introduced Bhagavatism. So also in the South Agastya is said to have introduced Indra worship and particularly, he had done it to save Kāvirippūmpattinam from a long drawn draught. In honour of this, the Cōlā king Tūngeyilerinda Todittal Cembian had installed Vajrāyudha, popularly known as Vajrakōttam at Kāvirippūmpattinam.[58] For the same purpose of draught Indra worship is popular in Orissa.

Indra is not only one, in the sense of tantrin, Indras were many. It has reference to one episode of the Mahabharata as to why Draupadī became wife of five husbands (Adi-Parva, CXCVII and CLXIX). Draupadī in her previous birth was the daughter of a *Ruṣi*. In order to obtain a husband she propitiated Śiva with austerities. Śiva became pleased and offered a boon to her. She requested Śiva for five times and for each time she was granted a husband. They were Pandavas. Pandavas were Indras. Again, it goes that Indra went to the Mount Himavanta to meet Śiva. Indra reached there and accosted him rudely but awed him. Śiva pointed out to a cave where in were four other Indras. Indra was astonished. Śiva explained him that these five Indras would be born in human shape in order to reduce the over-population of the world and Laxmi would be their common wife. Sarala Mahabharata of Oriya is packed up with episodes in connection with Indra. Among all characters of the Sarala Mahabharata Indra has been held high. It would be seen later (Infra, Ch. V).

In these episodes Indra is five Prānas of austerity and Śiva is above him. Indras were controlled by austerity and alchemic perparations. Dimbesvara Sarma on the basis of Raghuvamsa III.62 and III.41 of Kalidasa says, "Indra through his hundred eyes sees everything which is not easy for all. Such a vision has entitled him to a higher plane of life. He earned for him the higher plane by dint of his merit of austerity, for a foot is set everywhere. Indraṭṭva, therefore, has nothing untoward about it and is the culmination of a very high development, but not the highest of the human potentiality. This is the result of virtue accruing out of inconceivable sacrifice made as an ordinary mortal being and it symbolises nothing but a high degree of perfection, which, therefore, is subject to degradation at any time."[59]

It may be said that the Kalingas (Surya Bhagas) and the Tamilakas (Indra-Bhagas) were in an lower plane of austerity than that of the Uḍras (Śiva-Bhagas). In ancient time the Tamilakas, aryanised by Agastya, and the Kalingas, aryanised by Dirghatamas, had inter-change of cultural trends. To this V. V. Raman Sastri says, "it is a tradition in South India that an alchemist named Bhaga, a pre-Christian Taoist immigrant, had taught the method of reverberation and projection to the tantrins."[60] The traditional Bhaga of China may be a Kalingā. It is doubtful if ever any Chinese had any opportunity to come over Tamilakam to teach alchemic preparation. Nagarjuna and Bhagavatapādācarya are said to have used alchemicals for perfection in austerity. In tribal culture of Orissa, the 'Mantragadus' are now using herbs, shrubs, roots and tubers in magico-religious purposes and in the sophisticated society, there is a caste named 'Putulivania' is living on alchemic preparation. Besides, it is known that the Emperor Ming-Ti of China had sent an embassy through Central Asia to Khotan to procure the things requisite for the practice of the new religion (Buddhism). The emissaries—eighteen in number—left the imperial court in the year A.D. 65, and returned in 67, accompanied by two monks, Kasiapa Matanga and Gobharana, as well as. in possession of Buddha images and scriptures. Then Fa Hsien (A.D. 399-413), Yuan Chuang (A.D. 629-645) and I. Tsing (A.D. 671-695) travelled in India.[61] They were religious men, nothing is known about their tantric abilities above the magico-practices on alchemic preparations. Such demand might have been fulfilled by a Bhaga of Kalinga in Tamilakam. So, Orissa has become one of the base-lands of

Tantricism which was accelerated by immigration of Brahmacaries from the 4th Century A.D. onwards.

Indras as tantrins par excellence were taken into the fold of Buddhism. The Mahayana Buddhism could appropriate Indras and made them known among the people untouched by other influences, but Uḍrayāna as their own. In the Vajrayana Indra is determined, as S. B. Dasgupta thinks, as of Vajra nature, his image is Vajra, the *mantras* are Vajra, the worshipper is Vajra, the materials of worship are Vajra, and everything is Vajra.[62] He is Adi Buddha or Buddha Vajradhara, a metamorphosis of the god Indra. Vajra is Linga. He is different from Avalokita, a substitute of Śiva, in the Vajrayana.

The Boudha Vajrayana flourished with Indra and synonymous tantrins, Vajrapani and Indrabhuti of the Uḍras, who are likely to have their cult-spot, Oḍasuni. They habited the land which was called Uḍra Viṣaya and later, in Vajrayana it was recognised as Uḍḍiyānāpitha. In the term 'Uḍḍiyānā pitha', though 'Yāna' is referred to Buddhism, 'pitha' refers to Saivism. The term 'pitha' was highly discredited in Vajrayana and in its off-shoots (Infra, Ch. IV). It has influenced the Nathas and Oriya Santhas. But the term 'Yāna' has been accepted in Saivism. The Gheranda Samhita mentions, "samagrād vandhanād dvaye taduḍḍiyānam Visisyate" (Lesson, III.11). Here Uḍḍiyānā (Ut+di+sanac) means a system of Yogic practice which means ascension. This has also been glorified in the Hathayoga Pradipika (Ch. III.55). It is as simple as one can be. The procedure, of practising this Mudra is to contract the bowels equally above and below the navel towards back. The breath, by this process, is instantly forced up into the sushumna and moves constantly there in only. This Bandha was known also as 'Uḍḍiāṇī'.[63] The Uḍḍiānī Bandha of the Uḍras was credited to their goddess Oḍāsunī. It is believed that Oḍāsuṇī was the communal deity of the Uḍrasabaras and they were practising austerity meditating on Oḍāsuṇī who has not been mentioned in any Lexicograph. But, as her counter-part. Śiva has been mentioned as Uḍḍiśa. The simple nature of the Bandha shows its primitive stage of practice of Yoga. Time to time the Bandha got its gods of meditation—Śiva and Indra. Gods came for the Bandha accordingly as the Uḍrasavaras evolved into the Uḍra farmer community and into the Hinduized Bhanja family. In the last two stages, matriarchy of the Uḍras was superceded by patriarchy. The Vajrayana flourished during the period of the Bhanja rulers and appropriating Oḍāsunī, Śiva and Indra (Nagesa) set them in their own order as Olasuni, Avalokitesvara and Vajrapani through out Uḍra Viṣaya. To them the whole region of Uḍra Viṣaya became Uḍḍiyānā pitha. As there is controversy regarding location of Uḍḍiyānā pitha—Swat Valley or Orissa ; so also there is controversy whether it is Puri or Khiching. P. C. Bhanjadeo and Sadasiva Ratha Sharma are unanimous that Uḍḍiyānā pitha is of the Saiva origin.[64] Most probably, any renovation came over Kichakesvari at Khiching, the goddess was Oḍāsunī. During the period of Bhanja rulers their capital has been shifted many times. They started their rule with this tutelary deity naming her Khichingesvari which is simply a sanskritised name. But nothing is known about who was sanskritised. As P. C. Bhanjadeo attaches much importance on the deity as the presiding deity of Uḍḍiyānāpitha, she is likely to have been the presiding deity of his Uḍra ancestors in the name of Oḍāsunī. The Vajrayana has appropriated Uḍḍi+yāna of Saivism and has made it recognised as Uḍḍiyānāpitha inside and outside Orissa, and the tantrins became popular by various synonyms ;—Vajrapani, Indrabhuti and Indradyumna, of Indra to conduct the fate of Saivism of Orissa.

Boudha Influence on Śivalinga

Now it is a common feature of Śivalinga that it is surrounded by a geometrical figure resembling the female organ. It befits to the Mahayanic opinion, "prajnā bhaga ucyate" as a source of all pleasures. Sūrya, Śiva and Kalinga were Bhaga. In Sangitiya sect and Mahayana sect it was shifted to female organ as a source of pleasure. It was there in the seals of Mahenjo-daro and in an episode showing Brahmanisation of Linga worship. In those two conditions, it was not for the pleasure sake. It is a fact that from Asvaghosa Buddhism was turned into theistic order. As Percy Brown says, "One of the effects of such an endeavour was greatly to stimulate image worship and in the production of plastic representations of divine forms on the Buddhist monuments, the Hellenistic methods provided the means."[65] As regards the Hellenistic representations, James Tod's remark is notable. According to him at Paestum, around the temple of Isis, the terracota images of her holding in her right hand an exact representation of the Indian Linga and Yoni combined amounting to four thousands have been dug out.[66] The present Sexo-Yogic position of Śivalinga superseded the Tantrayogic and phallic representations of Lingas, certainly, due to Buddhist system. Mainly the tantra-Yogic system of Saivism was changed into the Sexo-Yogic system by the Mahayanists and their influence was unparallel. It had supplemented the Saiva doctrine of "detachment through attachment". The deeper meaning behind the Saiva doctrine was in eroticism, but due to Buddhistic influence it entered into obscenity. H. Hackmann remarks about the sexo-Yogic representations of Buddhism, "These female energies were frequently represented with male deities in such a way that, not withstanding a deeper meaning behind the conception of sex which might be pretended, practically it is certain that a strongly immoral attitude has been introduced by this symbolism".[67] Besides the Śivalingas, the Spanda Karika and the Vijnana Bhairava, the two texts of Kashmir Saivism, accepted sex-pleasure in them. Though the Saiva Nathas strongly protested against the sex-pleasure it could not bring any effect to Śivalingas.

About the 9th Century A.D., Buddhism in Orissa was suppressed. Still the scholars say that the Mahayanic principles are traced in the literary works up to the 16th century A.D. Till this time arts and literature of Orissa have specifically erotic and ascetic views which are Saivite rather than Buddhistic (Infra, Ch. IV). The sexo-Yogic system of Buddhism was so popular that the Nathism could not obstruct the social flow. The same taste was in Kruṣnism and so, it was entertained by a few to introduce it in the guise of Śiva and Indra for their strong impact.

Growth of Vaisnavism in the Guise of Śiva in Orissa

While there was monopoly of Saivism, a faith of Kruṣna crept into Orissa in the guise of Śiva, and really it was Mādhava, the via media between Kruṣna and Jagannātha in one hand, and Śiva and Indra in the other. So these all formed the foundation of Vaisnavism or rather Krusnism.

Of course, as like as the Buddha, Viṣṇu was presented in the line of Śiva and during the Puranic age, he was represented in the form of Linga. He was also represented as the Energy of Śiva. In mystic orientation he was represented lying on a three-coiled serpent in the heart of Ksirasagara. It was his Yogic sleep. In his sleeping he was attended by his feminine-energies ; Laxmi and Bhumi. In his lotus navel the functionaries of Creation, Preservation and Distintegration resided. But still he could not win over the common people. In the early temples of Orissa he remained sub-ordinate to Śiva. He was depicted as a subsidiary god in the Svarnajalesvara temple of 7th Century A.D. About the 5th-6th centuries A.D., Narayana was Paramadaivata to the Mathara king, Anantasakti Varman, but it is not known if the king had done anything for the development of Vaisnavism. From these above instances it may be said that though Vaisnavism entered into Orissa since 5th-6th Centuries A.D., it was in suppression for the high tide of Saivism till the end of 7th century A.D.

May not be Visṇu, but how was Kruṣṅa away from Kalinga, Kosala and Uḍra ? People were aware of the phallic god. Though Viṣṇu was one appellation of the Sun, he did not possess the attributes of phallism. Moreover, personal gods were more appreciable than the cosmic gods. From the point of these two reasons, Viṣṇu would have not been appreciated by the people of these three kingdoms. But the case of Kruṣna was different. Historically, Vāsuḍeva-kruṣna was a man of Yadava-Sattvata-Vṛsni family in Muthura region and his exaltation to god-hood began from about 800 B.C. He was accepted only by the Yadavas as god-head. The Yadavas were moved towards the South. The South was the ancient home of Saivism. So Kruṣna was modelled as a synthesis of life-like and god-like. Prior to the beginning of Christian era he had been an infant edition of Śiva. Still prior to that period, there were sculptural images showing fighting between Śiva and Ambā in one and in the other marriage between them at Maheśvara in the Deccan. It is not known if there was any legend about their dalliance. Of course, Kalidasa had done his best about it in the Kumara Sambhava. We have told before hand that Kalidasa was quite aware of the inter-action of the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultures, and his literary works were based on this knowledge. Moreover, Panini is known to have written 'Pārvatī-Parinaya' kavya.[68] Again, Kruṣna has much similarity with the birth episode of Zorathustra of the Gathas, Avesta. Krṣna, Vāsudeva, Devakī and Kamsa were the Indian editions of Zorathustra, Pourushaspa, Dugdhova and the tyrant.[69] Though there is no definite source, mischief and virility were added to Kruṣna. He came as a substitute of phallic god.

One sculpural representation of Vāsudeva is there at Burhikhar in Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesa. Now Vāsudeva is worshipped as Caturbhuji Bhagawana. He is represented as an attendant of Viṣṇu. This image has four hands, the upper left and right hands holding Cakra and Gada respectively, and the lower two joined in the Anjali pose. This image has been assigned to a period of about 1st century B.C. In the South Yajna Satakarni of 2nd Century A.D. had worshipped Vāsudeva as Viṣṇu.[70]

Bilaspur was not far away from the Western limits of Uḍra and it was within Kalinga under Nala rulers of about 5th-6th century A.D. It is not impossible that rumours and legends of about Kruṣna had come to Orissa during beginning of the Christian era. It is always true that deities come into being by legends and become popular through rumours, which take no time to spread far and wide. Secondly, in the Sangam literature of Tamilakam Viṣṇu was Māl and Kruṣna was Kannan. The Tolkappiyam mentions of about pastoral region in the name of Mullai and in that region Kruṣna was also known as Māl. In the later Hindu literature Kruṣna became the pastoral god, but not Viṣṇu. It seems Māl and Kannan were equated sometime prior to Christian era. This idea can be seen with Satakarni worshipping Vāsudeva and with Chaturbhuji in Bilaspur. His pastoral character brought him green colour. The Akananuru speaks about Māl's divine play. When the shepherdesses of the pastoral region were bathing in Jamuna river leaving their clothes on its bank, Māl or Kannan took away those clothes and placed these on the branches of Kurunta tree. At that time Balaraman, the elder brother of Kānnan, came that way. On seeing him, those girls wanted to cover up their nudity. Out of compassion, Māl lowered the branches of the tree and the shepherdesses could get their cloths.[71] This is the popular myth in the Bhagavata. N. Balusamy did not say anything about the time of prevalence of such myth in the South. Kruṣna has been modelled in the Indian religious scriptures on the basis of Zorathustra, Heracles and Śiva. It is not known where lies the seed of such myth, but wherever, Kruṣna's *Mahima* spread there spread the myth.

Such a legend called "*Kaliā Puri*" is prevailing among the tribes of Ghumsar area of Ganjam district. The legend has been recorded by R. N. Pareek and J. E. F. Pareira. The legend is that "some generations ago a youth of Tom Usmandi 'muth' or group of villages in Ghumsar, while hunting in the forest, came suddenly on a group of girls bathing in a stream in a state of nature. The sight filled him with indelicate desires, but he dared not make his presence known to the fair bathers because they were his kinswomen from the same sept as his own. The next day, and the day after, and for many days following, the amorous youth returned to the spot and watched the nymphs surreptitously from a bush, until one unlucky day he was discovered. His improper overtures were repulsed with the greatest loathing by the indignant maidens. So, in anger, he took away their clothes which were lying on the edge of the stream and disappeared into jungles, knowing his returning to the village meant death, he became a wanderer and eventually made his way to Tin Pari district in Orissa where he founded the '*Kaliā Puri*' or the thief sept".[72] There is no such district in Orissa, it may be Tinpahar of Bihar. The legend '*Kaliā Puri*' may refer to establishment of Māl of the South at Puri.

We have seen that neither Viṣṇu, nor Kruṣna, nor Narayan has any distinct place in the religious history of Orissa till the 7th Century A.D. Establishment of Māl of the South as '*Kaliā Puri*' may be the developed stage of Vaisnavism in Orissa. Māl is no other than their Mādhava or Nilamādhava who has been transformed into Jagannātha. The Sabaras of Ghumsar area might have been aware of the dalliance of Māl much before the incidence occurred in their locality. Transformation of Māl or Mādhava into Jagannātha is the real history of Vaisnavism in Orissa and it causes a set back to Saivism. So we will see it later (Infra, Ch. V).

Lack of Royal Patronage to Saivism and its Consequence

Till the end of the sixth century A.D., Saivism had monopoly in religious field of Orissa having patronisation from the dynastic rulers of the Sungas, the Kushanas and the Guptas. and their feudatories. Specially, from the period of the Sungas an effort was made to create a homogenous society and that homogenous society, during the period of the Guptas, was called the Hindu. Though Orissa was aryanised prior to the period of the Sungas, Brahmanisation was fallen short and the same was accelerated with the immigration of the Mitras of Central Asia into India. The Brahmanas were above the limitation of priest-hood. They were torch-bearers of Indology. But the Mitras mixed with indigenous people and took priesthood to their hands and made the tribal priests to be exalted to their status. So the Brahmanas of Indian origin came down to be confined within priest-hood. They penetrated into the tribal belts and forbidden lands with the torch of wisdom in hands and threw light on kings, feudatories and officers. Any patronisation to religion and deities was enacted through the Brahmanas.

The epigraphic records of the dynastic rulers, the Matharas, the Nalas, the Vigrahas and the Bhanjas, show that till beginning of the 7th century A.D., they had donated lands to the immigrant Brahmanas of the South and of Madhyadesa for religious purposes. Among the donees, the Brahmanas with Swami, Sarman and Bhatta titles were generally patrons of Saivism. About the Saiva creed of Swamis. James Tod says, "the priests are sometimes called Goswami which means controller of senses. In Udaipur of Mewar the Goswami bears significance with a crescent on the fore-head. They smear the body with ashes. They enjoy high favour in Udaipur. They live in monasteries scattered over the country. Śiva is their patron. They make use of intoxicating herbs and spirituous liquors."[73] In the South now there are Brahmanas with Swami titles. Now there are Sarmas in Orissa who are mainly Yogis of Saiva creed. Most probably, when the Yogis were discredited they became outcaste. In ancient time there were Janasthānas in Keunjhar, Bhubaneswar and Srinivas in Ganjam district. There were also Janasthānas in Tungabhadra Valley and Achichatra in Madhyadesa. It was a common practice with the Brahmacaris to wander over the country. Romila Thapar remarks about the Brahmacaris of Tungabhadra Valley that they were philosopher-Brahmanas called Brachmanes. They wander about completely naked. References to god was very frequent among them. They were free of all duties to the state except that of state sacrifices.[74] Romila Thapar thinks of them to be Jainas. But their reference to god does not speak about their Jaina creed, rather it speaks about their Saiva creed. The inscription scribed below the Nataraj image reveals that some Satrubhanja had gifted away gold coins in Sankhakara Matha of Achichatraka, Manibhadra Matha of Lakhesvara and other Mathas. He had constructed dwellings and Vihạras for them. Among the dwellers there were scholars in philosophy, science, grammar and in many fields of knowledge.[75]

Anantavarman, among the Matharas, in his Siripuram Plates (No. 10) and Srungavarapukota Plates (No. 11), is seen credited with the royal epithet 'Paramamahesvara' and 'Matapitṛpadanudhyata' and for this he had donated lands for establishment of Agrahara. Among the Brahmana donees Matrusarman was the leader. It was their duties to do things to increase religious merits, perhaps, of Saivism. His grandson, Padmasarman is seen receiving grant from Pṛthivi Maharaj at Virajanagar (No. 15). So also Agnisarman in the Koroshonda Plates of Visakha Varman[76] is told to have received donation on behalf of Parnadevati of Bhadrak from a pious lady named Ranghali.[77] It would be seen that royal patronage to the Brahmanas had encouraged them to move from place to place to develop Śiva cult in Orissa.

During the 5th-6th Centuries Tustikara was a patron of Saivism. Though Stambheśvarī was his tutelary deity, he had patronage towards Stambheśvara, Śiva. Because the Saiva shrines at Belkhandi and Talabhamara of Kalahandi district were, most probably, his contributions. The Nalas of Puskari were Mahamahesvaras. The Gangas came in contact with Kalinga towards the end of 5th century were Saivas. During 6th century A.D., Anantavarman had installed Gokarnesvara on the summit of Mahendragiri. The Bhanjas had done a lot for Saivism. Among their works, Khichingeśvari, Nataraj and Hara-Gauri were great contributions to Saivism.

Royal patronage was mainly intended for infusion of divine right of kingship into the minds of the subjects. By this the real owners of the deities were kept away. Patronisation within 6th century A.D., had added forms to the formless deities of local importance. The tribal and the sophisticated people were mainly in the hands of religious magicians and sorcerers. The Brahmanas penetrated into royal courts with the weapons of Sanskrit learning and tantra-yogic performances. It was not difficult for them to show results as demanded by the kings. So the legitimation in worship was shifted to the Brahmanas.

The Matharas had kept the seed of Vaisnavism preserved for about 180 years to germinate. It would be seen that Anantasaktivarman and Pravanjanavarman were devotees of Narayan. A long period of about one hundred years intervenes between them, but during that period Vaisnavism could not flourish. The Vaisnavism got a side track in the 7th Century A.D., to move under the veil of Saivism. Buddhism flourished with great empetus causing division in royal patronage. During 7th Century the Brahmana immigrants began to come in large number and a few of them infused the idea of Vaisnavism into the minds of Madhava Varman of the Sailodbhavas and of Sivaraj of Mudgalas to react favourably. Gradually, royal patronage was also diverted to Vaisnavism.

Conclusion

The kingdom Kalinga was the land of Kalinga worshippers. 'Ka-Linga' connotes Sūryalinga or Bhaga, an exact synonym of phallic-god. Generally, Kalinga refers to the son of Sudesna-Dirghatamas, but really, it refers to Ka-Linga-view of Dirghatamas. Dirghatamas had aryanised the land lying in the narrow strip of the eastern sea-shore. So also, Agastya aryanised Tamilakam. Dirghatamas had introduced Sun-worship in Kalinga and Agastya had introduced Indra-worship in Tamilakam. Indra means a tantrin par excellence in the Saiva line of action. The Tamilakas and the Kalingas had cultural relations. So the Kalingas were becoming Indras and the Tamilakas were becoming Bhagas. Indra and Bhaga were meeting together in phallic worship. It means both the Sūrya and Indra were phallic gods, and their followers, the Kalingas and the Tamilakas were phallic worshippers.

Sometimes, the Kalingas are said to be brave. It has been told in the sense of Vyanjana (indirect meaning). They were not brave in the battle field. They were brave in seafaring and in becoming Indras. They could not win in any mythical and historical war. They won battle only during Kharavela. The Kalingas fought under the leadership of Kharavela were Uḍras in true sense. Because during the Kalinga war of Ashoka the Uḍra tribe and the devastated Kalingas took shelter in the Plateaus and Rolling Uplands of present Orissa and under the guidance of religious leader, Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra they were established. They were Uḍras and the land they occupied between the rivers, Mahanadi and Vaitarani was called Uḍra Viṣaya or Uḍra kingdom. As usual the Uḍras worshipped their cult-spot, Oḍāsunī or Oḷāsunī who may be identified with Khichingesvari in Mayurbhanj district and Oḷāsuṇī in Ratnagiri area of Cuttack district. Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra was really a Dandin or Bhagavata and a disciple like mythic Vīrabhadra in Daksa's sacrifice. A similar Rudra has been referred to the description of Yudhisthira's pilgrimage in Kalinga near by the river Vaitarani. The antiquity of Saivism in Orissa may be pushed back to the period following the Kalinga war of Ashoka and it was developed since Sunga-Kushana period. The Mukhalinga of Sitabanji is the first evidence of transition of phallism from the Sun to Śiva which means Sūryabhagas were transformed into Śivabhagas. This transition has been reflected in the folk-festivals like Danḍayātrā followed by Uḍāparva of Mayurbhanj district.

The Uḍras, followers of the doctrine of Rudra as *Trimātura* of the Vedic seer, Vasistha, would have practised austerity as primitives did and the practice followed by them would have been known as Uḍrayāna or Uḍḍiyāna. It is found recorded in the Gheranda Samhita. But the Buddhist scholars took Orissa as Uḍḍiyānāpitha. It has been accepted in the same way as Śiva, Ambā and Indra were accepted and were made as their own. Buddhism since the time of Asvaghosa took a different turn due to suppression for the popular Saivism. There were great scholars in Buddhism till 8th century A.D. and they had influenced the traditional Saivism in many respects. Still the Saivism could maintain its originality in the field of austerity. With the end of the rule of the Bhaumakaras Buddhism went underground giving rise to Vaisnavism in Orissa. That is the reason a controversy arises as to the location of Uḍḍiyānā, whether it is Puri or Khiching.

The Vaisnavism in Orissa is Jagannathism or rather Kruṣnism. As regards ancient Bhakti cult, Jagannathism represents Uḍra culture and Kruṣnism represents Kalinga culture. Kruṣnism was traditional in Orissa. It might have come into the tribes long before the Mathara kings, Anantasaktivarman and Prabhanjanavarman, who were the devotees of Narayana. Though a period of about one hundred years intervenes between them and the Matharas remained for about 180 years in rule Vaisnavism could not flourish under their care. Rather, Kruṣnism which was under the care of the Sabaras could draw the attention of Indradyumna or a tantrin to establish him as Mādhava. It got a side track to move under the veil of Saivism from 7th Century onwards. In addition to this, Buddhism flourished with great impetus during 7th century A.D., and a division in royal patronage, in which Saivism had monopoly, came in.

To conclude 'Gaṇadaṇda' connotes Indra who was worshipped in the shape of Daṇda (staff) in the days of yore. So Gaṇadanḍa (Indra and staff) is like Vīrabhadra (Śiva and Linga), and Orissa preserves the worship of Gaṇadanḍa Vīrabhadra in the way of Danḍayātrā. The compound is, very likely, formed as according to Sanskrit Grammar, *Upamita Karmadhāraya* and the compound has close correspondence with 'Rudra Sudhanidhi' and 'Rudra-Śiva'.

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4

Impact of Śiva Cult on Social Life in Orissa

In this chapter we have looked into the influence of Śiva Cult on the social life that has been coming down till to-day from the third century B.C. As regards Saiva influence mainly the Scheduled Tribe and the sophisticated Class have been taken into account. As the sophisticated castes have been evolved from the tribal unit a little amount of variation is there in social mannerisms of both the two major units. Impact of Śiva worship has been grouped in two heads ;—institutional and theological. Social organisation consists of folk-painting, folk-festival and folk-ceremony and it shows a cultural stream under which villages in Orissa stand as social laboratories for religious consciousness. Common people, kings and religious leaders came and went, but the group values associated with the organisation remained the same as before under diverse situations. So also the social life of theology consists of arts, architecture and literature, and it shows the aesthetic sense, discipline and fellow-feeling of people. It could provide opportunities for self-discovery and spiritual insight.

Impact of Śiva Cult on Institutions of Social Life

The institutions of Orissan social life form the core of folk-culture of Orissa. The institutions of various forms came into being from responses to the demands of life. So emotions and devotions of people from ancient time to present day are likely to be reflected in such institutions.

Folk-Paintings

Circles of oval size in the Yogimatha Donger of Kalahandi district, wavy lines in the Ushakothi of Sundargarh district, potteries discovered at Kuchai and rings discovered at Angul are early varieties of paintings of Orissa. The tribes paint their deities in house-decoration. In the paintings of tribes each god with respective goddess, at times, are mixed in geometrical designs. Paintings of tribes are esoteric in character. These paintings they have inherited from their ancestors. These early cave paintings, potteries and tribal paintings may be referred to the forms used in the potteries of Mahenjo-daro, Harappa, Kalibagan, Lothal and many places in the Deccan. Drawing of *Mandalaș* and *Yantras* are now essential factors of tantric worship and of installation of Śivalinga. These are believed to have contained magical powers. These are representations of deities. Since it is not always possible for any individual to make an image of any deity at the time of worship a geometrical pattern, i.e. pentagonal, hexagonal, octagonal, eight petalled, sixteen petalled, serpentine circle, triangles, ovary circles etc. have been designed for him. Sometimes, human figures are shown with single triangle with a head on it and legs attached to it. In other cases, human figures are shown with two triangles meeting at their waists. The animals, mostly bulls, are painted in a rectangular form added with a horned head, tail and legs. Horses are shown in two triangles length wise and birds are shown in single triangle. These paintings can be seen in every house in Orissa in holy days. Among such paintings, two triangles meeting in waist signify conjugation of phallic deities for creation. Sometimes, these two triangles are joined by a serpent. Bulls, falcon, peacock, svastik etc. are representations of the Sun. Sometimes, one triangle is printed opposite on the other triangle. If the base of the triangle remains up it means the generative organ of Mother-goddess and if the vertical angle remains up it means the creative organ of the Father-god. So also the Svastik painting symbolises Father-god and Mother-goddess engaged in creation. The Boudhas have changed its original form accordingly as they have changed the basic principle of Creation which we will see later. There are many other paintings seen in tantric institutions. These paintings were common practices among the Greeks, the Romans, the Chinas, the Japanis, the Egyptians and the Indians for tantric worship and phallic worship. These paintings represent Śiva and Ambā, Osiris and Isis, etc. following the Sun and the Earth.[1] Paintings prevailing in Orissa may be referred to the period of transition of phallic deities called Bhaga. In tantric theology Bhaga is "bhagam śrīyoni viryechājnāna vairāgya kīrttisu".[2] Orissan early paintings came out of the necessity of tantra-yoga. Painting in the body of the mountains may be the earliest evidences of tantra-yoga practised by the Uḍra tribe. In other way it was a mode of preparation of an artist for training in austerity. So the Hindu Treatises on painting laid down six canons of professional excellence of the artist to gain proficiency in his arts. These are knowledge of appearance, correct perception. measure and structure, the action of feelings on forms, the infusion of grace or artistic representation, similitude and finally, an artistic use of brush and colours. Kewal Motwani says, "Yoga is the hand-maid of art. The artist is, therefore. enjoined to master Yoga, the practical art of self-integration, so as to achieve union with the Eternal".[3]

Folk-paintings in Orissa were created to propitiate Śiva and Ambā. Later, these folk-paintings added with Yogic performances had, in the past, given rise to classic arts.

Folk-Festivals

The Uḍras are farmers. The agricultural year begins from the first day of *Vaiśākha*. This day is known as *Paṇāsamkrānti* and *Viṣuvasamkrānti*. It is the most unauspicious day, but it has been most auspicious for the people. Kings of the Ganga dynasty are found to have donated lands to the Brahmanas on this occasion. It is Śiva who, absorbing all evils in him, becomes auspicious to the people. "Puspadanta elucidates the auspicious nature of Śiva, the pronouncing of whose name itself is of the highest auspiciousness, though everything about him is inauspicious, as his sports are in crematorium, he destroys Cupid in the bloom of his existence, has ill-omened ghosts, elves, gnomes, and hobgoblins as his retinue and the ashes of burnt corpses as scented powder smeared on his body, with garlands of skulls as his adornment —a self contradiction indeed, but so very true, as his essential nature is auspiciousness, Śiva."[4] Whatever perishes is amangala (inauspicious) and whatever is eternal is mangala (auspicious) and so also his consort "Yah śivo nāmarūpābhyām yā Śivā sarvamangalā" (Śivarahasya) Ambā and Oḍāsuṇī in Orissa become *Sarvamangala*. In Orissa *'Paṇāsamkrānti'* is observed with some peculiarity which leads us to suggest that the day is commemorated as the day of emancipation of Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra. And also it marks the emancipation of Rudra or of Trimatura becoming Śiva. So *Paṇā* (liquid mixture), in which *Vilva* (Wood-apple) is a must, is offered to Rudra and in this occasion *Jalachāi* (water shower) is made, so that water is poured down on the head of Śivalinga. It reminds the interplay of fire and water of Saivism. Among all fruits Vilva has been a must for its medicinal ingredients to which Rudra is said to possess (Supra, Ch. II).

Besides, *Paṇāsamkrānti* is observed with a peculiar festival called *Uḍā* or *Jhāmu* which is purely Hathayogic in spirit. This festival is observed in honour of the Mother-goddess of different names and the Bhagatās undergo various kinds of self-torturing fits and starts. The *'Jhāmu'* is observed near Bauti and Uttaracandi at Athgarh Town and it is observed only by walking on fire spots. It is called Uḍāparva in Mayurabhanja district. Though the aim and object of 'Jhāmu' and 'Uḍā' is the same, 'Uḍā' maintains its Hathayogic miracles in a more rustic way. The Udāyātra observed in reverence to *Vāsulāī* at Thakuramunda of Mayurabhanja district is the evidence of that type. Bhagatās there remained in a pond for some hours. Psychiatrist went (*Kalisi*) to them and stick iron hook like

by the side of spine of each one and they hang by the other side of hook in a wooden bar on which psychiatrist walks without any support. The tribal and Hathayogic character of Udā or Jhāmu are more reflected in the *'Pātua'* or *'Ghanta'* dance. *Pātua* dance or *Ghanta* dance starts from the day of *Paṇāsamkrānti* from the shrines of notable goddesses like Carcikā of Banki. At Banki the Ghantas are Mallis. They move from village to village for the entire month of

Vaiśākha with one movable deity. It is ascertained from Benu Rana, a Carcikāghanta, of Carcikā Mālisāhi, Cuttack district. He dances being dressed like a woman. His make-up reveals the combining pictures of male and female. This picture is also common with those who take parts in *Danda*, *Pālā* and *Dāsakāthiā,* sonorous songster groups unique in Orissa. Benu Rana dances carrying the movable goddess on his head and standing upon two wooden legs, each more than one cubit high. He believes at the time of his dance Carkikā descends on to him rendering him unconscious. As R. N. Pareek observes the tribal '*Yajjodu*', it seems, the *Pātuās* or *Ghantas* of Sāralā and Carcikā have no difference.[5]

The *Jhāmu* or *Udā* and the *Pātuā* or *Ghanta* festivals succeed the *Danda*, which is observed before thirteen days of *Paṇāsamkrānti*. *Dandayātrā* at Bentapada of Athagarh Sub-Division in the district of Cuttack is famous and old in Orissa. *Dandayātrā* is still traditional. One 'Dandalila' manuscript of Managovinda Das is in the Orissa Museum. It is written on the basis of Gītagovinda.[6] It does not provide any information about rituals of *Danda*. It was ascertained by this writer that the Bhagatās are called Teragharia, which means thirteen devotees are necessary for Dandayātrā. A *Danda* made of clay is the symbol of the deity. The Bhagatās worship the deity for thirteen days taking one meal a day at the dead of night. There is a hard and first rule that at the time of taking meal no sound of any kind should come to the Bhagatās. If such thing occurs a Bhagatā stops taking meal till next night. They invite and tolerate such troubles to appease the deity.

The Bhagatās are also Dandins. We have discussed about them before hand. The tribal origin can be seen in its *Yātrā* which is usually held after *Paṇāsamkrānti* in villages. The group consists of sixteen characters—Pravā, Hara, Pārvatī, Fakira, Fakirāṇī, Cadheiā, Cadheiāṇī, Sabara, Sabaruṇī, Patarasaurā, Patarasauruṇī, Kelā, Keluṇī, Vinakāra, Vinākariānī, and Navachaukā. These characters are not seen everywhere. Characters are changed suitably, but Sabara, Sabaruni, Patarasaurā and Patarasauruṇī remain constant. Introduction of characters like 'Fakira' may be a proof that with the passage of time and increasing urge for modernisation and urbanisation, religious beliefs and manner of ritual have been changed. The past of the Dandayātrā is lost to some extent. The Mundas of Mayurabhanja district do not know *Dandayātrā*. But to them *Paṇāsamkrānti* is known as *Uḍāyātrā*. In reverence to *Uḍāyātrā* they prepare *Chau dance* as like as the sophisticated castes prepare Danda ritual for *Paṇāsamkrānti*. It may be a fact that the tribals remaining in their natural stage maintain Chau dance in reverence to their primitive way of Yogic practice and the sophisticated Uḍras maintain Dandayātrā in reverence to their own way of Yogic practice called Uḍrayāna. According to Uḍrayāna the festival has been named *Uḍāyātrā* and in course of time, tribals of Mayurabhanja district have been intimated and conversant with *Uḍāyātrā*. *Uḍāyātrā* may be referred to Samaja in the rock-cut inscriptions of Kharavela at the Hatigumpha of Udayagiri hills. Accurately S. K. Chatterjee recognised Kharavela as a non-Aryan Emperor and B. Padhi recognises his language, through his inscriptions, Uḍrajā Prakruta.[7] In the third year of his coronation he had arranged for the entertainment of his citizens items, i.e. Combats (dapa), Dance (nāṭa), Music (gīta), Orchestra (vadita), Festival (usaba), and Plays (samaja). All these are familiar parts of Uḍāyātrā and Dandayātrā. It is not impossible that Uḍāyātrā and Dandayātrā were in vogue sometimes within 103 years preceding his coronation as Emperor. Dandayātrā followed by Uḍāyātrā is one unit. It has much similarity with May-Pole dance of ancient. Greece in which people sang and danced bearing phallic symbols. So the Dandayātrā might have been observed prior to Kharavela in reverence to Oḍāsuṇī.

Summer Harvest (*Dālua*)

Generally paddy is harvested during the winter. In many parts of Orissa farmers get double harvest. For the second harvest the farmers begin sowing paddy seeds during the Winter and harvest paddy during the Summer. It is untime paddy harvest called *Dālua*. They can not supply adequate waters to the corn field. Storms and cyclones are great bars to it. Farmers remain in great anxiety for a good harvest. To make this farming good farmers, as in duty bound, make a mud-pile like Śivalinga and they worship the same from beginning to end. The deity is called '*Dālua Mahāprabhu*' (god of untime paddy crop). It is ascertained that people of

Athagarh, Tigiria, Baramba and Narasinghpur of Orissa call a disease '*Dālua Mahāprabhu*'. When any part of a finger is affected by a red swollen sore and the man gets pain thereby he is said to suffer from '*Dālua Mahāprabhu*'. The man does not take medical treatment. He applies wine and sugar, and gets cured. Whatever medicinal power may be there in wine and sugar for curing such sore, but people believe it the presence of Śiva and he is, necessarily required to be propitiated.

Raja Festival

Raja is a common and popular festival observed every nook and corner of Orissa. It is observed for three days preceding and succeeding *Asadha Samkrānti*, (14th June) when monsoon breaks. People believe the Mother-Earth to be in taboo and so, no one hurts the Mother-Earth for any purpose. In the fourth-day morning women of every family worship a muller and the worship is called '*Bhuim Sitalā*' (the Earth cool). People enjoy this festival with great splendour. This is simply a phallic worship unique, perhaps, in India. Primarily, it concerns to the Sun and the Earth, and now it has been shifted to Śiva and Ambā. This transition is manifested in the Mukhalinga at Sitabanji in the district of Keonjhar. A great fair is held there and at Bali Haracandi in the sea-shore of Puri district for Raja festival.

Garbhaṇā Samkrānti

Garbhaṇā Samkrānti of Aśvina (Sept.-Oct.) is observed in every farmer family in Orissa. In the morning of the said day every farmer goes to his corn field keeping all offerings in a basket, and peculiarly, he carries a bundle of boughs. The farmer worships the field and sticks the bundle in it. It is believed that the field will give a good harvest. The farmer unites the phallic deities on that occasion.

Influence of Śivaratri

Śivaratri is one of the important Saiva festivals. Peculiarly, it is called *Jagara* in Orissa. For *Śivaratri*, Guptesvara on the plateau of Malkangiri is unique and its tribal form is retained there. In tribal culture this festival is known as Mantri.

Generally, observing this festival, men and women remain in fasting without sleep until the Mahadipa (great lamp) is raised to the summit of the shrines. People do so with a belief that they would be blessed by Śiva to live an unbroken conjugal life. There are myths in the Śiva Purana, in the Ekamra Candrika and in the Svarnadri Mahodaya. Myths influence greatly the devotional spirit of people. One such myth of the Śiva Purana (Ch. 40) is notable. A Savara went into the forest in search of a prey in the evening. He saw a deer and wanted to kill it. The deer promised to come before him afterwards. He took shelter in a wood-apple tree carrying water with him. He remained wakeful through out the night waiting for the deer. Under the tree there was a Śivalinga. Water fell on the Linga and for this Śiva blessed him.

The Savara might have worshipped that Śivalinga. Now it is seen that Savaras are *Sevayatas* of Guptesvara and *Śivaratri* is a great festival there. Most probably, *Śivaratri* spread far and wide from Guptesvara and now it is observed in every Saivapithas. The influence of *Śivaratri* lies in use of leaves and fruits of wood-apple as food and drink, but practically people use them as oblation in Śiva worship.

Marriage Ceremony

One can increase his family, clan and tribe. That is the occasion when the bride and bride-groom remain in obsession for increasing their family. On this occasion this house-holder worships '*Dhenki*', a wooden log joined with another small log covered with one iron plate around its head, used to thresh paddy and rice. Again on the fourth day of marriage, on the marriage altar, the groom is directed by elders to handover a muller to his bride. The *Dhenki* and the Muller are worshipped as phallic symbols representing the Sun and Śiva.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestory is not confined within the limit of seven or eight Vedic seers who have been either jar-born or golden-embroyed, it has been credited to the Sun and the Earth, and later, to Śiva and Ambā. While the former connote brahmanisation, the latter connote pre-Vedic idea. Generally, ancestor worship may be referred to the system followed for disposal of dead elders of a family and to the system of lighting a lamp in honour of them. In Orissa irrespective of castes, some people bury the dead and others cremate. Of course, the cremation depends on one's ability to afford. Previously, on every occasion there was the necessity of raising a tomb of conical size resembling a Linga. Now-a-days the urban crematorium up to the extent of electric system does not provide any facility to raise a tomb in memory of the dead. The system of raising a tomb may be referred to the disposal of Śivayogis. In every occasion they follow burial system and they raise a tomb, which, sometimes, is recognised as Śivalinga. Such instances are many in Jajpur town and Bhubaneswar. Particularly, the Saiva monastic system allows the burial lest the tomb should be recognised as Linga. We have credited Saivism to the Austric origin. Of course, the Scholars have seen burial in the Austric race and cremation in the Vedic system.[9] But the disposal of dead body is circumstantial.

Rather in ancestor worship the provision of lighted lamp is much antique and the system has a little correspondence with Śiva worship. It is observed in Orissa that on the tenth night of the dead all kitchen-pots are thrown in the outskirt of the village with a lighted lamp in one of the pots. Food and other offerings are kept in that pot. It is believed that the dead soul would come and would take food. On the eleventh night a surface of sand is prepared in the room where the man died. On the sand-surface a lighted lamp is kept and the surface is kept covered by one big earthern-pot. People believe that the dead soul comes over the surface. Even on the occasion of anniversary (sraddha) of the dead food with a lighted lamp is offered. In ancestor worship a lighted lamp has become an essential factor.

To trace out the origin of lamp, in connection with ancestor worship, some scholars say that it has come from the Vedic source. During the Vedic days, Agni was determined as Kavya-Vahana, the carrier of offering to the Pitṛs.[10] It is much older than the Vedic system. Lighted lamp is one of the first steps in the history of man's advance towards civilisation. The artificial lighting device, as we see to-day, has come to us through many changes. The concave stone vessels for holding fat and a wick made of twisted grass of fibre have been found in the caves of Dordogne, France. Similar bowls made of clay have been discovered in the ruins of the long buried cities of the Mesopotamian Plains. Pottery lamps consisting of low dishes with a circular place for the oil and a wick used in Egypt of the Old Kingdom from 3110-2155 B.C.[11] In India the '*Dewali*' is observed in commemoration of ancestors in every family. Lighted vessel was the representation of father and mother in phallic sense. It is none but the Sun is Eternal Light and he is the Great Father in the history of ancestors. As the alternative of the Sun and the Earth, Śiva and Ambā were regarded as ancestors and so they became guardian deities in village level. Now all Saiva temples have the system of offering lighted lamp and the '*Śivarātri*' is highly revered by offering lamp. Light signifies eradication of ignorance. The Ganga rulers of Orissa introduced donation of perpetual lamp in honour of Madhukesvara at Makhalinga at about 9th century A.D.[12] And it is prevailing almost all ancient shrines irrespective of sectarian gods and goddesses.

Adopted Son-in-Law is Social Stigma

It is seen that in three stages ; birth, marriage and death of folk-life the influence of Śiva Cult is highly felt. These Saiva traits have been coming down through out ages. Besides, during the medieval period a great Saiva influence was created which conducts the total set up of life in Orissa. It is really a folk-behaviour, but it has strong impact even on highly educated people.

Now it would be seen that if any one stays in the house of his father-in-law he is hated by all. This is a social stigma. Saraladas has created an episode about this stigma. There occurs a quarrel between Candradhvaja, the son of Himavanta and Karttikeya, the son of Śiva. Candradhvaja abused Karttikeya that his father was a Yogi and he had no other property than a trident. Śiva and Pārvatī were staying in Kailasa which was the property of Himavanta. Śiva had no abode of his own to stay with his wife. So after their marriage they were given the abode to stay. Karttikeya came home and expressed all that happened in the quarrel to his mother. Pārvatī bewildered much for not having a home of her own. No sooner had Śiva come to her than she began to express their pitiable condition. Without waiting for anything she became ready to leave her father's house at once and they left.[13] Now things have been changed. A married daughter has equal proprietory right with her brothers over the property of her parents. Still no one is encouraged and entertained to stay in the house of parents permanently.

Hatred Towards Śivayogis

It is not Candradhvaja alone who had hated Śiva for not having any property of his own, almost all hate a Nathayogi, particularly at the time of going somewhere. They believe if such thing occurs no good result can be expected.

It is known that such a hatred towards Yogins was there prior to Saraladas of 15th century A.D. It would be seen from the Sarala Mahabharata and from the Rudrasudhanidhi of Narayanananda that the idea of Yogin does not concern to the Nathayogin alone, it concerns to the mendicants of lower rank irrespective of sects. So Saraladas says that there would be no sin if any one kills a wicked Brahmana, Yogin and woman.[14] At the same time there was great respect for Gorekha and Malinatha.[15] This difference in the idea about Yogins has been emphasised in the battle between Pracandāsura and Śiva. While Yogi, Avadhūta, Vairagi, Natha etc., were looked down upon, Pracandāsura was much eager to see Śiva in his real form and Śiva stood before him in his white complexion, wearing a tiger skin, wearing serpent in his neck, holding trident and drum, holding Sakambari in lap, and holding crescent moon in the fore-head.[16] Narayanananda has clarified the idea more convincingly. In his opinion, Rudra may be nectar to Gorekha, but it is not so to Kamananda. All the Kāpālikas of Vajrayana and Natha sect were not the same as their teachers. The teachers were jīvanmuktas, but their followers were indulged themselves in gross immorality. So Narayanananda told them *Pāpistha*.[17] So also the Brahmanas immigrated into Orissa till Yayati-I of 10th century were *Brahmacaris*. He is said to have brought Brahmana-priests into Orissa. In course of time, it may be for them, the Brahmacari Brahmanas came down from their high pedestal of Sanskrit learning, and adopted sooth-saying, quackery and priest-hood. For making their priest-hood favourite, they wrote great number of Dharmasastras from Satananda Acharya of 11th century A.D. to Govinda Samantaray of 18th century A.D.[18] Attempt of the priestly Brahmana beneficiaries is a sure departure from that of the *Brahmacaris* immigrated into Orissa from 4th-5th centuries to 9th century A.D. While the attempts of the formers were purely professional, the attempts of the latters were Brahmanisation through tantra-yogic religions. In their attempt profession was created automatically. Saraladas discredited the professional Brahmana beneficiaries who were bars to his literary career. So hatred towards Śiva-yogis came from Yogis and Brahmacaris, who turned into social parasites in later age.

Theological Organisations under Saiva Influence in Orissa

There were social organisations which were in tradition for centuries past and these were systematised, more or less, in later age. It was made so because of their common usages. So also in course of Brahmanisation of Orissa many usages were put in theology and such usages were made treasures of folk-lore. The variegated tribal culture gained ground in classical form due to urbanisation and sanskritisation. Still there is imprint of Saiva influence which has been mutilated otherwise.

Orissan Arts and Architecture Showing Saiva Influence of Eroticism and Asceticism

Eroticism is the crowning feature of the arts and architectures of Orissa in their initial stage. Following the Mukhalingas at Bhubaneswar and at Sitabanji, the Nataraja image at Asanpat, and the early temples are seen with erotic images. These images are—Arddhanarisvara, seated Śiva-Pārvatī, Nataraja, Ekapada, Harihara, Lakulisa, Virabhadra, Bhairava etc. These images are seen with Urddhvalinga carved out prominently in the temples built from 7th century to 10th century A.D. at different places of Orissa. On the South wall of the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhubaneswar a damaged image of dancing Arddhanarisvara has Urddhvalinga. In this temple there are images of Seated Śiva-Pārvatī with a positioning of arms and legs in a fashion which arrests the notice of all spectators. Peculiarly, Śiva is here carved with Urddhvalinga.

Such awkward position of Śiva and Pārvatī is also seen in the Bhavanisamkara temple at Bhubaneswar. The Nataraja image in the Bharatesvara temple at Bhubaneswar is depicted with Urddhvalinga and a snake holding in two upper arms. In the Isvara temple at Paikapada there are three seated images of Śiva, a Gangadhara, an Ekapada, a Lakulisa and a seated Arddhanarisvara—all are shown with Urddhvalinga. In the Vaital temple at Bhubaneswar there are images of Arddhanarisvara, Nataraja, Harihara, Lakulisa and Virabhadra with Urddhvalinga. In the Singhanatha temple at Gopinathpur of Baramba there are images of Arddhanarisvara, Harihara, Gangadhara, and Ekapada with Urddhvalinga. So also one damaged Jaina image at Subei in the district of Koraput is seen with a crowning Linga. In the Sisiresvara temple at Bhubaneswar there are amorous couple images depicted with attractive pose. There are amorous women images in the Rajarani temple and in the Lingaraja temples. The standing position with beautiful thighs, waists, eyes, and breasts of the images are no less beautiful than the heroines described in Sanskrit Kavyas. In the temples of the Ganga period there came obscene images and erotic images in abundance. The erotic nymphs are sometimes seen in dalliance with their mates in the Konark temple. The obscene images in the Konark temple surpass all erotic images of Orissa.

These are the erotic and obscene productions of the Orissan arts and architecture, which were upheld by the sculptures of the contemporary ages, of the monuments. Among such monuments the Mukhalinga, with its membrum virile only, at Sitabanji was the earliest one. We have assigned the 3rd century B.C. to it,and the Mukhas might have been added to it during the Sunga-Kushana period. The Nataraja image at Asanpat and later erotic images have come under the influence of Brahmacaris of Saiva creed and of Sanskrit learning. During the period, when Mukhas were carved out, there came beautiful images of dancing women, women worshippers with offerings, Yaksas and Yaksinis etc. maintaining crude and primitive quality of traditional folk painting. It is very likely the folk-artists had taken up stones as the medium of expression of their aesthetic sense arose out of devotion to contemporary gods. For folk-tradition and religious ideas, as S. K.

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Chattarjee remarks. "The Orissan temple architecture forms a very distinctive school in the Hindu architecture of India. The Orissan temples have been described as being typically 'Indo-Aryan' as opposed to the Deccan and the South Indian or 'Dravidian' styles".[19] As regards styles of the images may be different from that of the Deccan or Dravidian, but the motive-force behind all the images of Orissa, Deccan and Dravidian region was not different. This motive force was phallic and Hathayogic and so, the traditional form of art was transformed into erotic for gradual inter-actions between tribes and elites. In this respect the opinion of Rajendralal Mitra is supporting. He says, "In all these (Assyrian School, Egyptian School, Etrusean School, Acginean School) there are peculiarities which may be more or less predicated of Orissan art; but at the same time there are points of excellence in it which are not to be met with in the ancient schools named. The conventionality of form, which is so marked in them, prevails to some extent everywhere in India. It resulted from indolence, combined with a desire to imitate art instead of nature, under circumstances which were particularly favourable to such mannerism untouched by extraneous influences, art in Orissa successively rose, became stationary and declined with the civilisation of the people very much in the same way which marked its course in Egypt, and elsewhere, and its characteristics must to a certain extent be alike".[20] As R. L. Mitra was suffering from gross provincialism, so also the Oriyas of his time were suffering from indolence. He has dealt with the Orissan art from the period of Kharavela to the medieval period. The Oriyas of this period were not indolent. These active Oriya artists certainly imitated art, not nature. It is nature in the sense of human instinct. Perhaps he spoke about natural phenomena which were not there. Such a great scholar must have been aware of the nature of 'art'. The Arts, which constitute the group known as Fine Arts, are seven in all; Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, Music, Dancing and the Drama.[21] The end of art is to give aesthetic pleasure. Art has moral aspect of life. By morality in art, it does not mean a system of metaphysics. The artist has a religion, but he does not preach doctrine. He conveys philosophy of life. He exalts the philosophy through arts. As R. L. Mitra thinks Oriya aesthetes had certainly revealed the philosophy of contemporary people and of their own which had not been influenced so much by extraneous interference. The stem of such philosophy of the artists may not be other than tribal form of austerity and the deities there in and, in course of time, the artists have exalted them through arts. It is the best with R. L. Mitra who had hinted upon spirit of arts rather than form of arts like archaeologists.

Still we have taken up art and architecture, and literature of medieval Orissa as separate units to deal with the eroticism. It is sometimes alleged that the pictures of *Sambhoga Srungara* are pornographic and they are not erotic. But both erotic and pornographic arts were created to serve one purpose of society and it was religious, and later, the domestic purpose increased the scope of pornography. "Pornography really means any word, act or representation which is designed to excite sexual feelings independently of the presence of another loved and chosen human being. If the original intention behind the representation is not such stimulation, the charge of pornography is baseless".[22] The erotic and pornographic images were necessarily intended to stimulate thwarted instincts of the patron kings and the pilgrims too to be Saivas, not to be swayed away by sexual desire. Stimulation of sexual desire and surrender to it are not one thing. The difference between these two is evident in Tantra-yoga and Sexo-yoga ; one is ancient Saivism and the other medieval Buddhist oriented Saivism.

It would be seen that the temples and the images of Śiva and of the Saivas in the temples had come into existence under the influence of Śiva Cult bearing testimony of eroticism. The eroticism signifying temporary Bliss is a step leading towards permanent Bliss or *Premabhakti*. It may be asked how do we account the woman images for eroticism?

Stones in the temples of Orissa smile. They form the epic of aesthetics in Orissa. The artistic stone images of Bhubaneswara, Puri, Konark and Khiching have correspondence with the descriptions of the *Kāvyas* of Kalidasa.[23] Among many women images, a love-sick woman, the Cosmic Mother and the Naga Queen at Khiching ; Women images of Brahmesvara and Muktesvara waiting expectantly for their lovers ; a woman image writing letter to her husband who is away from her; women images showing their feminine beauty through different activities and women images completely surrendering their amorous body and soul to their lovers in the Konark temple are unique in India. In these images the rolling eyes, the slender body, the fleshy hip, the thin waist and round thighs are erotic. The erotic women images have been placed in the temples with religious sanction. The erotic figures were then related to austerity. There is no name of artist who had exhibited the philosophy of the Oriyas. Nevertheless, they speak about their own heritage and heritage of the society. The heritage of arts and architecture of Orissa began with folk-paintings of phallic deities in tantric diagrams and it was developed into classical form under Uḍrayāna, a Hathayogic austerity which ultimately was put into the concept of Kalinga or Advaita view of devotion. This heritage has been manifested in arts and literature.

The temples bearing erotic images were also decorated with the Cosmic Mother, Śiva Mahayogi and worldly play of Śiva and Pārvatī. This was shown as to how temporary Bliss turns into permanent Bliss or *Jnanabhakti* turns into *Prema-bhakti.*

In these varied situations, the human love has been associated with ontological necessities. So human love, as S. B. Dasgupta says, when dissociated completely from selfish carnal desire, not by process of strict physical and psychological discipline, has the capacity, in its boundless extent and deep intensity, in producing a transcendental state of mind, which is of the same kind as the state of mind, produced through the highest state of divine love or communion with God."[24] So also "according to biologists the development of sexual gratification as an end in itself has led to many complicated problems of sex and has made it necessary for society to devise such means of controlling sexual impulse."[25] The Saivism has kept it in a limited scope and the Buddhism has developed it, and though there was moral impositions, this development brought the sex to a attracting level in Saivism. So, perhaps, K. C. Panigrahi thinks that it (Buddhism) distributed its potentialities among the Brahmanical sects, particularly Saivism and Saktism during later part of Bhaumakara dynasty.[26] Most probably, by the end of the 12th century A.D., mithuna images were added to Jagannatha temple and Śivalingas were added with the generative organ of Pārvatī.

The Sarala Mahabharata abounds with the descriptions of eroticism and pornography. Though Saraladas was a poet of 15th century A.D., he revolted against the Sahajiya Buddhism. So his erotic and pornographic descriptions were purely Saivite. In religious point of view his descriptions mark certain amount of departure from erotic arts and architecture. It is because of the principle that literature paints an imaginary and stylised life, and so social aspirations and religious ideals have, sometimes, been over-burdened by naked picture of sexual descriptions of practice. Still he has shown his ingenuity in transcending the fleshy youth of women and he has romanticised the sex-art.

Youthful maidens of Angarapannaga were bathing in a pond. The description of bathing is much erotic, but they were afraid of Arjuna who was the personification of Śivayoga.[27] There were other women who were mad of yogic coitus. The description of conjugal union of Bhima with Hidimbikī and Kālāncī is Hathayogic.[28] Draupadi, Candi and Sita, the heroines of Mahabharata, Candipurana and Vilanka Ramayana respectively of Saraladas were real Mother-Goddesses and they were much eager for their equal status with their husbands. This tendency of Saiva literature has, through out ages, prompted Narasingha Sena and Dhananjaya Bhanja of 17th century A.D. to introduce the system of Purusayita (reverse inter-course) in their 'Parimala' and 'Ichavati' Kāvyas respectively. In this respect the influence of Buddhism is meagre. Because, fundamentally in the Vajrayana Sahaja Sundari or Candali is passive character. Dombi is not conscious of her sexual right, Kahnu is much eager for conjugal union (Boudha Caryagiti, 10). It is quite opposite to the Hindu tradition. A Hindu woman is humiliating, but at the time of generation, she seeks her mate and becomes responsive to sexual intercourse of every kind. It is also common characteristic of women. Like all other *Kāvyas*, the Ambika Vilasa is more concerned to sexual descriptions. Against Puranic tradition, Śiva is found to beg sexual intercourse from Ambika and says 'Cupid is piercing him into pieces' (A.V. XXX.9). So also

Pārvatī, during her maiden-hood, is searching her generative organ (A.V. I.29). From these sexual description it cannot be said that Brajanatha was a poet of sex. In this *Kāvya* he does not forget to instruct his readers about the criteria of Saivism. In his opinion one can get *Mukti* either by enjoying or by practice of *Astangayoga* (A.V. VI.II). Here enjoying means *Panca-ma-kara* of tantric medium. The Ambika Vilasa is packed up with descriptions on *Sambhoga Srungara* (Canto. II, VI, XXIV-XXXIV). It would be seen that Brajanatha has been fully inffuenced by the principle of *Kāvya*—"na vinā vipralambhena sambhoga pustimasnute" (S.D. III.199). Though he has described the sexual conditions, which is quite contrasting to the theology the Saiva tantra, of Śiva and Ambā, according to response of the literary principle he is found conscious of his folly and has come down to the *Grāmadevatī* in the end of his Kāvya. *Grāmadevatī* is inclusive of Śiva, but there is no sexual condition in it. So also Kalidasa after describing *Sambhoga Srungara* of Śiva and Pārvatī in the Kumarasambhava, Canto VIII had come down to Śiva and Ambā, the hermaphroditus, in the beginning of the Raghuvansa and had saluted them for his folly.

We have seen that the description on *Sambhoga Srungara* is pornographic and the description on *Vipralambha Srungara* is erotic which is a chief criterion of early Saivism. The *Sambhoga Srungara* came into the Saiva literature through Kalidasa who was the exponent of the Saiva austerity or Transcendental Spirit. In the Pan-Indian literature the 'Kumara Sambhava' owed much to the 'Surasundara' of Asvaghosa and as regards erotic descriptions of the 'Surasundara', Aśvaghosa also owed to the metrical science of Pingala and might have been owed to the 'Pārvatī Parinaya' of Panini. "The names and also the number of metres treated by Pingala prove that there existed a highly developed secular literature before his age and the names of many metres prove the existence of extensive love lyrics. A keen survey of classical literature of the later date also speaks in support of the hypothesis that originally it was in the erotic lyrics that ornate metres came to be used in India, since it is in this class of poetry that the variety in respect of metres is the greatest. Names of the metres like Kanakaprabhā 'brilliance of gold', Chāruhasinī 'beautifully smiling', Vasanta tilaka 'spring crested' and others possibly go to suggest that originally they were employed in love-songs in which beauiful women were praised."[29]

The '*Sambhoga Srungara*' of the Pan-Indian literature about Śiva and Pārvatī is the development of. '*Kama*' in the 'Purnatākhyāti' of the Parasurama Kalpasutra, and copulation of '*Panchamakara*'.

The *Sambhoga Srungara* of the literary principle may be referred to '*Kama*' of the Purnatākhyāti of Parasurama Kalpasutra and Maithuna of *Pancamakara*. *Kama* and *Maithuna* are symbolic expressions of the union of fire and water in Śivayoga. The primary scope has been extended by Asvaghosa and further, by Kalidasa, Bharata and many others. This development taken place as *Srungāra* is a part of Eros. In the epigraphic records it is seen, for the first time in the Puri Plates of Madhava Varman—"the entertaining snakes were slackened because of their knot being set on account of Parvati's union with Siva".[30] During the 18th century A.D., poet Nityananda wrote "Śivalilamruta Mahakavyam" in which he put Śiva and Pārvatī in the line of Gitagovinda of Jayadeva, Gitagauripati of Bhanu Dutta, Gitagirisa of Ramabhadra, Gitagangadhara of Kalyana and Gitadigambara of Vamsamani.[31] Aspects of *Sambhoga Srungara* and *Vipralambha Srungara* in arts, architecture and literature meeting the demand of 'Kama' of social life of Orissa were originally formed of Saiva theology and were developed by Buddhism and Vaisnavism.

Saiva Influence on the Behaviour of Mukti

To the common people Mukti means a life without suffering till death and a pious birth after death. Mukti is a remedy against mud of vices (papa panka) of present birth. But the esoteric Oriya literature determines Brahmadarsana is Mukti. Again, *Brahma*, *Jyoti* and *Śūnya* have been equated. Mukti is relative factor of knowledge of Brahma and of perfection in yogic practice.

We have seen that *Brahma* is vital air, *Jyoti* is the Sun, and *Mukti* means Jīvanmukti in Saiva system. During the medieval period Śivayoga was appropriated by the Bauddhas, they set it in religious practice with a little variation, and so also it was appropriated by the sectarian Saivas, Jainas, Vaisnavas and Santhas. The Santhas of Oriya literature flourished along with the Vaisnavas, when the philosophers of Buddhism and poets of Saivism were put down. So the religious views of the saint-poets of Oriya literature have been so complex in nature, that any attempt to derive the nature of impact over them has been misleading. It is true that presiding deities, Radha-Kruṣna, or Radha-Madhava, or Laxmi-Narayana, as popularly known, have been formed from the root Prajnā-Upāya or Śūnyatā-Karuṇā of Tantric-Buddhism, not from Śiva-Durgā of Tantric Saivism. But the ways and means of yogic-practice and the philosophy of the Santhas do not deviate from those of Saivism. Radha-Kruṣna are not the exact representations of Prajnā-Upāya of the Mahayanic tantra. Keeping the Buddhistic and the Saivite sources of tantricism aside, G. P. Parija and A. Pattanaik show that the design of Rạdhā-Kruṣna is based on the Vaisnava tantra.[32] In support of their view they show the use of Hrīm Klīm Srīm in Oriya esoteric literature and they show the source of these monosyllabic words to be the Pancaratra. We have indicated the source of these monosyllabic words in the Chapter I. Moreover, the Pancaratra is credited to Narayan who is known from the Ṛk. X. The Saint-poets and Saraladas, regarding Mukti, were more related to the works of the Sahajiya Siddhas, and Saiva Nathas.

Along with the pairs of deities, the Santhas have described Jagannatha as Buddha and in this way, they have adopted a strongly marked sexual character which may be termed degeneracy in Vaisnavism. The influence of Buddhism is evident in Vaisnavism of the Santhas. Still they were more akin to the ideas of Narayana or Narayaṇananda in their religious practice. It is not known exactly if there was a person named Narayanananda who had written Rudrasudhanidhi. He seems to be a tantrin like the Vedic seer, Narayana, who stood, later, a compromising figure head of Saiva tantra and Vaisnava tantra. The tantrin in his tantric career, did not like *Kāma* aspect of the tantra, but liked *Ānanda,* aesthetic pleasure or Rudrasudhanidhi and so he became Narayana with the suffix, *Ānanda.* This *Ānanda* or Rudrasudhanidhi (see Supra, Ch. II) was Mukti to him. In the Rudrasudhanidhi, Abhinavacaitanya taught it to Kamananda.[33] The Buddhist philosophers recognised it as Śūnya or Nirvana. These terms form a state beyond Jivanmukti of Saivism. Asvaghosa in his Sundarananda recognised it as follows :—

avāpyakaryo'si paramgatim gatau
nāte'stikamcit karaṇiya manvapi
atahparam saumya caranukampāya
vimoksayān kṛccragatan paranāpi (18.54)
evam kṛti nirvṛtimabhyupeto
naivavanim gaccati nāntariksam
diśam na kanoid vidiśam na kancit
kleśa ksayāt kevala-metisantim. (16.29)

It means you have finished your work. You have achieved paramagati. Nothing is left for you to do. There is grace (saumya) for you, others are in sorrows. You should extend your help to get them rid of sorrows. Nirvana or Śūnya is an aesthetic state of mind where neither the worldly life, nor the sky nor any thing else has any reaction.

But in Oriya literature the conception of Śūnya is incalculable. Balarama Das in his 'Brahmanda Bhugola' says Śūnya is that which contains Brahma. Achyutananda Das says Śūnya remains in Śūnya and he does everything. So also Yasovanta says self exists in consciousness, consciousness in supreme void, supreme void in light and light in void.[34] It is found in the Sarala literature that Śūnya and Vyāsa are one and the same.[35] Samkara commented on Śūnya that it is devoid of all qualities. But it is not so. Śūnya or Soul is not negative virtue, it simply opposes positivity. Like this the Saiva Siddhantin eliminates one after another of the various organs of the body, both internal and external, with the plea that it is not the soul. The agency which is capable of so asserting must be an intelligence which is exactly what is called the soul.[36] Soul of the Saiva Siddhanta is the same as the Self of Yasovanta Das. The Self is the combination of two virtues ; one is active and the other passive. It is the Vedic postulation of the Self. It corresponds with the postulation of Oriya Saint poets as "*Radhā kālindi Kruṣna hamsa sāra*". Śūnya in the esoteric literature is qualified. The Santhas had a desire for Jīvanmukti. Jagannatha Das in his Śūnya Bhagavata

(III.23-27) speaks about a state of Yogin who is the same as the Jīvanmukta. In this state there is no birth and death, and there is no difference between *Jīva* and *Parama*. His 'Arthakoili' bears the testimony of his being much worried to achieve *Paramapada* which is the highest achievement of a Jīvanmukta. He advises all in his "*Bhulamana bhulu kahimki*" that the time wants to swallow the life. Life is much precious and so, one should not allow himself to be swallowed. He should meditate on *Parama* who is in *Trikuṭa*. The esoteric literature of Oriya abounds with description of union of Radha with Kruṣna. Radhā and Kruṣna are not different from Śakti and Śiva. The '*Arthakoili*' is Brahmajnana or a knowledge of relation between *Jīva* and *Parama* who are represented by *Pinda* and *Brahmānda*.

In the metaphysics, the doctrine of *Pinda-Brahmānda* means to see the ocean in a drop. The body is the real altar of Brahma who can be seen by practising Śivayoga. In the Śiśuveda the doctrine of *Pinda-Brahmānda* has been clarified through question and answer. In the Śiśuveda Gorekha says —"mara mara pandita marana hiṁ mitha", which means one can be jīvanmukta by practising Yoga in self-torture. Achyutānanda Das in his Brahma Samkoli mentions :—

"Candrasuryamku kale gosthi
Viṣama brahma agni uṭhi.
pralaya taku na vāndhai
teveṭi siddha anga hoi."

All the Santhas of Oriya literature adopted *Khecarimudra* as the highest Yogic process to have knowledge of Brahma. Narayanananda says Amanga Padmakara has achieved perfection in *Oḍiāṇī mūdrā* and Khecari mūdrā. It shows in Uḍḍiyānātirtha, *Khecarimudrā* became prominent in place of *Oḍiāṇī-mūdrā*. For Mukti the doctrine of *Pinda-Brahmānda* was glorified and it stood against pilgrimage. Saraladas describes that Śrikruṣna starts for *Baikuntha*. Akrura wants to go with him. But Śrikruṣna denies. Akrura served him through out his life and by the merit of his good work he may be allowed. Śrikruṣna explains no good work can take him to *Baikuntha* and he may go when he will achieve perfection in *Khecarimudra*.[37]

Here *Baikuntha* is the representation of the Vedic *'Tripād' vibhūti'*. This is Purusa who is above the mortal world and the immortal world. His three-fourth is equal to the immortal world.[38] Purusa is Śiva.[39] There is no *Mukti* any where and it is in the Śivayoga. It is the Śivayoga which brings man from mortal world to immortal world in life.

Saiva Influence on Dharma in Orissa

The idea of Dharma supersedes all gods and goddesses worshipped in Orissa. *Dharma* of the common people is void by nature. Still they look at the Sun to be the Omnipresent to know his vices and virtues. So Dharma has neither any shrine nor any image. *Dharmavaka* of the Sarala Mahabharata turned into Svayambhulinga after unfolding the secrets of the pond to Yudhisthira.[40] Again, Saraladas says Dharma Niranjana Purusa stood before Kunti in the guise of a man and from them Yudhisthira was begotten.[41]

In the Śūnya Purana an episode about Dharma is as follows :—"In the beginning there was nothing" there was only all-pervading darkness and haze. In the void Lord was there. For loneliness he thought of creating something, and Air came out. From Air came out Māyā, from Māyā came out water and then Niranjana came out from water. Niranjana engaged himself in meditation and from his sweat was created Ādyāśakti. She grew young and from her desire (*Kāma*) was created. Being directed by Ādyāśakti *Kāma* went to Niranjana to disturb him. But Niranjana put *Kāma* in an earthen pot and then *Kāma* turned into poison. Ādyāśakti grew young. She became unable to bear the burden of her youth. She attempted to commit suicide taking that poison. But to her utter astonishment she found herself pregnant. Then Brahmā, Viṣnu, and Śiva were begotten. Subsequently, they sat in penance. Niranjana went to test the merit of their penance. Brahmā and Viṣnu could not recognise him and Śiva recognised. Niranjana was pleased with Śiva. They went to Ādyāśakti and she was given to Śiva as his wife.[42]

It is known from all these evidences that the ideas of *Dharma* was shifted to Śiva. Really, people in Orissa do not know Śiva to be Dharma. People know the Sun to be *Dharma*. Besides, *Dharma* is an idea of earning virtues of any kind. Under this idea Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra had established habitations for the deported soldiers in the Kalinga war of Ashoka and for the Uḍra tribal people. And to earn *Dharma* Śivalingas were installed as like as Gokarnesvara on the summit of the Mahendragiri and Dharmalingesvara near Parlakhemundi. Temples were also built by the kings through out Orissa under this idea. During early centuries of Christian era a large number of Puranas on Śiva and Śakti, might have been written, but the Puranas prior to the 12th century A.D. have not been discovered. During this period the Pancatantra of Viṣnu Sarman is a very great work on *Dharma* written in Orissa. From the 12th century onwards a great number of Puranas on sectarian cults were written in Sanskrit and Oriya to popularise *Dharma* among the common people. Only with this end in view a great number of Dharmasastras were written within 11th to 18th centuries A.D. The Orissa Museum has preserved manuscripts on Dharmasastra numbering about 900.[43]

The chief object of the Dharmasastras and Puranas was to infuse devotion in the minds of the people by the way of Brahmanisation. In this way the rough and rustic ways of worship of the tribal deities and unsystematic devotional rituals of people were sophisticated. In addition to these Brahmanic systems many gainful measures were introduced. So books on devotion, worship, amulets, hymns, initiation etc. were written mainly by Brahmana beneficiaries. Cross-roads made out of scholarship were quite foreign to the people in the past and by that, simple Bhakti became mechanical.

Bhakti and its various measures were in the tribal level and in the sophisticated society. These were unwritten and still today these are in vogue unwritten. It can be seen in the worship of the village goddesses managed by the Malis (gardeners), *Raulas, Kaivartas, Jannis, Patis, Yajjodus* and *Mantragadus*. They show Bhakti by prayers and sacrifices. In the prayers there are elements of invocation, praise, petition and mercy. Still prayers are not binding on to the deities who may accept or turn a deaf year. A prayer is a direct conversation of the *Sevāyatas* with the deities. The *Sevāyatas* have some ritualistic words or monosyllabic incantation to recite in conversation. It is ascertained from Mangal Singh of Dudhiasol, Samakhunta Block of Mayurbhanj district that people believe that gods take the soul and leave materials for them Mangal Singh is the priest of the area. He adds words as deemed fit to the person for whom he worships. Jaear Bonga of the Mundas is normally benign and occasionally, she becomes displeased. She is not different from the people. There is no guarantee that right and pious conduct of an individual can save him from the wrath of goddess. She can destroy the most innocent and religious man without any reason. The Mundas simply believe that there is another higher world where gods and souls of dead ancestors live. Now they have been acquainted with *Brahmaloka* and *Yamoloka*. They believe that their worship, devotion and righteous works can provide a room in the *Brahmaloka*. This idea crept into the common people due to Brahmanic influence. The Brahmanic influence brought a change in traditional form of devotional works. The change can be seen from the form and the mode of worship which have been taken place near *Pravalā Ṭhākurāṇī*, the tutelary deity of Narasinghpur, an ex-state of Orissa. No doubt, the deity is very old. The deity was in the heart of jungle and now she is there. A few Kandha families have their houses. A Brahman is also living near *Pravalā Ṭhākurāṇī*. Now the shrine of Pravalā is in a new pattern. Still her old form is there and she was worshipped in the form of a sword previously. The sword has been broken into two pieces ; one big and other small, and these are standing against a Khaira wood in the shrine. The ritual prevailing there has certainly come out of the interference of the Brahmana, who is living there. His interference is quite visible, but his interference has no record. The Brahmana settled there within forty years back.

From the above instance we may look into the past as to how ancient system of Bhakti based on worship has been mechanised by the Brahmana beneficiaries. The epigraphic records show that Śiva worship needed *Caru, Dhūpa, Vrata, Satra, dakṣiṇā* etc. by Brahmana *Sevāyatas* in the Benglore Plates of Devendra Varman, in the Podagada Stone Inscription of Skanda Varman and in the Sobhaneswara Inscription.[44] These *Upacāras* were increased to sixteen in the tantric literature written in Orissa. These were *āvāhana, āsana, arghya,* *pādya, acamana, madhuparka, snāna, vastra, upavīta, gandha, puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya, vandana, nirājana,* and *dakṣiṇā.* In the tantric literature time, place and oblation were introduced to create more eagerness among the devotees. Among all *darśana* has become more valuable to know one's devotion. With the increase of Brahmana immigrants into Orissa the old pattern of Bhakti was put into tantric order. In such mechanisation all Brahmacaris with the title Sarman and Swami, Dharmakirtti, Minanatha, Patanga Śivacarya and Vinitasasi may be responsible. We have told that among all peripheral areas, Orissa and Andhra were places of origin of tantra in India. The Nathas were authors of Kaula tantra and one such tantric text is found in the Cambridge University Library. It is said to have been copied during 9th century A.D.[45] Its authorship may be assigned to Minanatha of sometime prior to 9th century A.D. Minanatha, who is said to have learnt tantra from Śiva, is still a mysterious person in the tantric-lore. To add to it, as S. N. Rajguru says, Dharmakirtti was living in Gunupur Taluk. He finds out the name of Dharmakirtti from the Stone Inscription on the outer wall of a temple standing on the top of a hill near the villages of Padmapur and Jagamanda.[46] Dharmakirtti was defeated by Kumaril. S. B. Dasgupta has indicated elsewhere in his 'Obscure Religious Cults' the association of Minanath with Jagannatha Puri.

These descriptions are much inducing to say that Dharmakirtti being defeated by an exponent of Brahmanism was converted to Saiva tantric system in Orissa and was known Minanatha, Mina-born.(?) Mina-born, Jar-born etc. stand as a system of conversion in the Aryan pantheon. So the truth about Minanatha is under the moss of mystery. He might documented the traditional tantra. A song ascribed to Minanatha is found in the Boudhagana 'O' Doha of H. P. Sastri and it may be taken into account of his being associated with Orissa.

Kahanti guru paramārthara vāṭa,
Karmakuranga samadhika pāṭa
Kamala vikasilā kahi āṇa bhamarā
Kamala madhu piivi dhokeṇa bhamarā.[47]

In ancient time we have seen the Kalingas and the Uḍras were evolved from the indigenous Sabaras or Nisadas of Orissa. The Kalingas were non-dualists and the Uḍras were not-dualists. It means in respect of devotion the Kalingas were in a 'not two' state of Samkara and the Uḍras were in a 'not-two' state of the Siddhantins. The former may be referred to *Premabhakti* and the latter to *Jnānamisrābhakti.*

In the tribal religion god was not different from the devotees and between the people and the deities there stood a chain of simple heart. Even they had no difference between god and goddess, both of them were deemed Mother-Goddess. This idea about the deity was coming down through out ages and they became conscious of god when they came in contact with the elites. The activities of '*Yajjodu*' in connection with Uḍāparva, as we have discussed above, were out-come of Premabhakti. The *Yojjodu* was a magico-religious priest of the tribal society. The simple heart and the activity of *Yajjodu* have definite correspondence with the opinion about *Premabhakti* in Oriya esoteric literature—"*ātmaku stiri veśakari/śrirādhā angare vihari*" (Vedantasara Guptagita, Ch. 24).

It was not only in Orissa, as a tribal religious practice, it was prevailing through out all peripheral areas in India. *Premabhakti* with its principal element of *Parakiyānāyikā* is said to owe much to tantric-lore. This has been appreciated in the Sarvollasa tantra as Eternal Prakṛti and she is realised in three different ways ; (a) subtle form in the human body ; (b) *Jyoti* form in the *Varnas* and (c) Gross form in woman (Ullasa. 62.21 and 63.23). The Jnanarvana tantra and the Kularnava tantra prescribes *darśana, sparśa, ālingana, cumbana, stanamardana, yonivikasa, lingagharsana, lingapravesa* and *lingasthapana* as nine flowers of tantric worship. This tantric worship with the help of a woman may be referred to the description of a hymn in the Chandogya Upanisad—"sa ya evāmetad vāma devyam mithune protam veda mithuni bhavati . . . pariharat tadāvratam" (II.16). It is the indication of 'Vāmadeva Samopasanā' which was conducted by sexual practice with one parakiyānāyikā.

These elements of *Premabhakti* must have given rise to *Jnanabhakti* and for the inter-relation of the two systems the latter is known as *Jnanamisrabhakti.* Balaram Das has recognised it as follows :—

> *kāstha paṣāna astāloi maṭi*
> *pituli lekhana citra prakaṭi*
> *ehi manarūpa karithāpai*
> *e puni tā nāma dhari japai.*[48]

Jnanamisra bhakti lays stress on *Kayasadhana* and *Prema.* The recitation of name can bring knowledge. Sutakaharini of the Rudrasudhanidhi wants to be initiated by Rudrasudhanidhi. Rudhrasudhanidhi advises her to wait till his youth.[49] He is reciting Śivo'ham and at his youth he is expected to earn knowledge for initiating others. The recitation of name or *namamahatmya* is the chief characteristic of Premabhakti—"*tasmānnāma nāminorabheda eva*".[50] But it was in *Bhakti* cult of Orissa. In course of time, Buddhism, Nathism, Sufism, Alwar Vaisnavism and Gaudiya Vaisnavism came in aid of indigenous nature of *Bhakti* prevailing in Orissa through out ages and each of them contributed its share to build up Bhakti Cult, but still it maintains its original spirit in every walk of life.

Influence of Śiva Cult in Economy of Orissa

Orissa of the Uḍras was an agrarian kingdom with Śiva and Ambā as presiding deities over agriculture. Tantra is credited with the realisation of four ends of life, of which wealth is one. This is, perhaps, the main reasons for which Saivism is in vogue for more than two thousand years. The outlook of Saivism is highly materialistic. It was institutionalised by means of temples and monasteries which housed Śiva and Śakti, and *Gurus* and *Acaryas* respectively. In Orissa tantricism grew on spiritual terms and for sometime psychosexual elements were added to it. During the medieval period the temples and monasteries turned into arsenals from which these exploiters grew up with the weapons of Bhakti to subdue the hostile forces.

The Saivism in medieval Orissa set aside its spiritual forces and appreciated richly decorative cult of Śiva. So magnificent temples were built in great number from 7th to 13th centuries

A.D. These were very likely grown in places of ancient village shrines. So also ancient *Janasthānas* gave rise to many monasteries. The Inscription scribed on the image of Nataraj of Asanpat is the first evidence of how feudalism entered into Saivism and how monasteries were supported financially in Orissa.[51] The monasteries and temples grew to serve as the institutional basis of the *bhakti* which encouraged the loyalty, servitude and unpaid labour to the owners, kings and monks. During the same period, the Koroshonda Plates of Vishakhavarman may support the cause of feudalistic behaviour. Vishakhavarman donating Agraharas to the Brahmanas made them a tax-free and issued commands to the villagers of Tapoyaka to show respect to the Brahmanas.[52] In return the Brahmanas were desired to perform duties in support of the kings. They were leading the life of recluse in the forest. The jungle people were illiterate and they were not obliging the kings. The Brahmanas had harnessed them in that way.[53] Saraladas also gives proof of it. The Savaras of Śivapura did not accept the interference of the Brahmanas (Aḍiparva, p. 223). But the Brahmanas of the South were accustomed to mix with the untouchables. The *Bhakti* movement carried on by the Nayanars had brought the Brahmanas and the untouchables to stand united in a common platform. This must have been repeated in Orissa since 4th-5th centuries A.D.

The temples and the monasteries were established at the cost of the Uḍras, the farmers and the *Kaivarttas*, the seafarers. Economic prosperity of these people was the cause behind the temples and monasteries. The fertile and productive river valleys, the forest resources and unlimited pasture lands were supporting the farmers to be wealthy. Sea-ports and river-ports had engaged the *Kaivarttas* to carry on oversea trade and to be *Saudāgaras*. Without the prosperity of the people in a general sense, the rulers of several dynasties could not have conducted their arsenals to exploit the people. As like as the farmers, the *Saudāgaras* and the *Kaivarttas* were Saivas. It is evident in the episodes in connection with *Trinātha Mela, Khudurukuni Vrata*, Boat Floating on *Karttika Purnami* and *Somanatha Vrata*. Moreover, each ancient port has a presiding deity of Saivite group. Later, these ports have

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been turned into pilgrim places. If people under the care of Saivism were wealthy what did make them exploited?

Most of the Brahmanas and the ascetics, who entered into Orissa within tenth century A.D., were tantrins. A few of the tribals and of the sophisticated people were semi-brahmanised and others were in their own standard. A chief called Pulindaraj, who prevailed upon a Bhaumakara ruler in Orissa (9th century), donated lands for the maintenance of a Saiva temple and Saiva ascetics. The Bhanjas and the Sailodbhavas of Sabara origin granted lands to many Brahmanas. Since the tribal people had a low social rank, they would have provided spiritual initiation. By the time of Huen-Tsang the Sudras got the status of cultivators. They naturally came to have some rights and interests in the land in which Brahmanas enjoyed superior rights.[54] This was inconsistent with the traditional ritual status of the Sudras which was necessary to be raised by providing initiation in the tantric sects. It is very likely the Hinduized Sabara dynastic rulers had done so for their own kiths and kins from 4th-5th centuries to 9th century A.D. For this purpose Uḍḍiyānā was recorded as a tantric pitha in the Kubjikamataṭantra within 7th century A.D. Several Sanskrit tantric texts in Oriya script are found in medieval Orissa and two of these, the Kaulacudamani and the Varahi Tantra, can be ascribed to the ninth-tenth centuries. A manuscript of this tantra, which belongs to the Southern School, is preserved in the Durbar Library of Nepal.[55] Those works might have been written in Devanagari script prior to this period in Orissa. The kings granted lands to the Brahmanas were obliged to maintain a relation of teacher-disciple. It would be seen in the Terasinga Plates of Tustikara that his mother, Sobhini Kaustubhesvari was laying on the bed and was suffering from burning fever and for her recovery he has granted Debhogaka ksetra to Dronaswamin.[56] In this Grant it is presumed that Drona Swamin had cured the queen-mother. That was the age when tantrins were magicians, physicians and astrologers. Tustikara got some kind of help from Drona Swamin and in return, he had granted an Agrahara to him. Not only this, the Grant was also given with injunctions to the subjects and his heirs to show respect. Before hand we have shown the same thing in the Grant of Vishakhavarman.

Almost all the Grants given by the kings of the different dynastic rulers to the Brahmanas and the deities are maintaining the same norm and spirit. These epigraphic records show that the donors submitted to the Brahmacaris just as the Vassal. Somadatta was loyal to his over-lord, Sasanka in his Midnapur Plate.[57] The donors were invariably described as loving or washing the feet of the donees.[58] In the earlier records, prior to 7th century A.D., dealing with gifts of land to priests and the deities, the donor is rarely seen as subordinate to the beneficiary. In the Dharmalingesvara Plates of Devendra Varman. Patanga Śivacharya has been styled as Guru and Bhagaban, and so, he has been styled as the supreme lord of the world, as the commander of all kings and also as one at whose feet all monarchs rubbed their heads.[59] The donees like Visnu Sarman and Patanga Śivacharya were *rajagurus*. The *rajagurus* were assisting the kings in performance of domestic and public rituals. Such Brahmanas were also priests of Saiva temples. The growth of an understanding between the Saiva temples and monasteries, and the feudal administration can also be suggested by the form and terminology of the epigraphic records of about three hundreds. Most probably, *Sevāyatas* with the titles, Panda, Padhi, Mohapatra etc. have been semi-brahmanised as they were enlightened members of their original castes like Malis and Raulas. The confrontation between brahmana beneficiaries and tribal priests, might have created economic problems and that might have been solved by tantric initiation. We come across an episode of *Vavanabhuta* in the Udyogaparva of Sarala Mahabharata (p. 110). In this episode the farmers (Sudras) were much affraid of the *Vavanabhuta*. One *Maharaula* was able to drive out the ghost by spreading out the *Mahamudra*. The tantric miracle of Brahmana tantrin (*Maharaula*) was intended to have social reconciliation. The reconciliation caused exploitation.

Rajaguru and the priests of the royal families in Orissa were enjoying highest honour and they were also given landed properties to the highest tune. It is ascertained from the *Rajaguru* of the previous king of Athagarh that the king had donated him 200 acres of land. He was the chief of the five other priests, each of whom was donated landed properties exceeding fifty acres. This was the tradition in all exstates of Orissa. It was also extended to the innumerable zamidar families in later period. Rajaguru and priests were not going to their field to cultivate, they were leasing out the lands to the Sudra tenants. It was the duties of the Sudras to cultivate the fields of the priests on the basis of share and it is not astonishing that the highest share then was enjoyed by the priests. Now it is observed that the Sudras cultivating the lands of others are, as duty bound, giving half of the crops to the owners and, in addition to the share, are also doing many domestic duties of the owners free of wages. From this present position, the exploitation and rights enjoyed by the Brahmanas from the period of Vishakhavarman may be inferred.

Like this, temple priests and monastic pontiffs were also enjoying the greatest benefits of the landed properties donated by the kings and Zamidars to the deities of the temples and monasteries. The monasteries were not like Yogimatha Donger, Ushakothi, Ravanachaya, Yogichata, Prachi Valley, Vaitarani Valley, Kottashrama and Srinivasa or like Lakhesvaramatha and Ahichatrakamatha, which we have seen beforehand, these were like Bharatimatha of Bhubaneswara. Medieval monastic order and temple cult came into prominence, probably, from influence of the brahmana immigrants of the South. In South India, the temple Cult, though took its rise during the reign of Koccenkanan, a pre-Pallav king, became wide-spread from 600 to 1300 A.D. It is doubtful if any temple was existed prior to 600 A.D. The Nayanar Sect (500-800 A.D.) was militant against the Jainas in the South and to vie with the Jainas they entered into monastic order. The system of management of temples and monasteries of Orissa is the same as the system prevailed from 600 A.D. in the South.[60] The feudal system of temples and monasteries concerns to *devadāna* gifts of land which they received from dynastic rulers and royal officers. The perpetual nature of grants was further increased by the emergence of Zamidars. As like as *Rajaguru* and priests of royal families, the temple priests and the pontiffs of *Mathas* do not cultivate the lands in their possession, they lease out to the tenants and they enjoy the same privileges. Naturally, it weakens the economy of the tenants and the central administrative power. The Saivite system was extended to Visnuite temples and monasteries and it was causing set back to the economy of the peasantry in Orissa. The beneficiaries of temples and monasteries of Orissa, like South Indian donees, have the right to enjoy the land and get it enjoyed. This practice is also seen in the North. But from the seventh century A.D. the practice of temple construction tended to become widespread in the North. Another South Indian trait is the Lakulisa image in the early temples of Bhubaneswara. Lakulisa was carved with a staff in hand, because in the South his followers had to fight the Jainas. In Orissa there was no such position. But Lakulisa was carved with a staff in hand in the Meghesvara and Brahmesvara temples.

Association of Snake and Bull with Śiva Worship

Besides, snake and bull bear the testimony of Śiva Cult in Orissa. These two are deeply associated with each Śivalinga in Orissa. Among the Jyotirlingas of India, as described in the Śiva Purana, Naganatha is said to be in Orissa.[61] It has not yet been identified. Snake has been conjoined with Śiva, Viṣnu, Gautama Buddha, Gaṇeśa and Durgā. Still, it is none but Śiva is Bhujangabhusana and particularly, in case of snake-bite people in Orissa go to Śivalinga. Feasibility of such aspiration of people is under the scope of *Mahimā* of a particular Śivalinga. This writer has discussed the issue, on the occasion of a real incidence, in the Jhamkara, March, 1982. The incidence is that a bull was staying nearby Akhandalesvara temple at Aradi of Bhadrak Sub-Division in Balasore district. The bull goes to a corn field of a *Sevāyata* at every night and grazes. At one night the man was ready to set fire to the bull and he did it. But no sooner had he done it then he was bitten by a snake. Despite all efforts he died. It may be accidental, but all circumstancial evidences collected by the writer from there led us to suggest that there stands some spiritual relation between that Śivalinga, snake and bull. For this, Rudra has been invoked in the Taittiriya Samhita as "Nilagrivāh sitikanthāh sarvā adhāh ksamācarāh" (4.5.11.3) and in the Atharva Veda Rudra is said to save the people from snake bite (VI.56 and 56). So also, the seer, Gṛtsamad has equated Rudra with Vṛṣabha (Rk. II.33). These have been developed in many later literary records through various myths.

Conclusion

Impact of Śiva Cult on the social life of Orissa can be seen in her institutional and theological behaviour prevailing till to-day. Theological behaviour is related to folk-traditions on agriculture, trade and aspiration of long living and of increasing own family. *Raja festival, Pana Samkranti, Garbhana Samkranti*, hatred towards Yogis, adoption of son-in-law are saivite. Sasthi worship, muller worship, and lighting of dipa (candle) during the time of birth, marriage and death respectively are also saivite.

Institutional behaviour is comprised of dharma, artha, kama and moksa of life. Though people accept the Sun and consideration of virtue and vice as *Dharma*, the idea has been shifted to Śiva in literary document. *Artha* speaks about the economy of Orissa. It has made the kingdom wealthy by agriculture and trade. But the brahmana immigrants and the patron kings with Saiva creed introduced land endowments and by it they had caused the peasants exploited. *Kama* is manifested in art, architecture and literature. Among all creative works some are erotic and others are pornographic. Eroticism is purely Saivite and pornography is Saivite which is influenced by Vajrayanic traits. *Moksa* is second birth in life, not release after death.

Besides, snake worship and bull-worship maintain the significance of Saivism. They are, sometimes, revered as Śiva. Relation between them is purely spiritual.

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Decline in Śiva Cult of Orissa

DECLINING phase of Śiva Cult in Orissa comprises of Jagannathism or rather Kruṣnism known as Vaisnavism ; quantitative increase in Śiva Lingas and development of material view of social life. Everything has its own decadence. Śiva cult rose in Orissa during 3rd century B.C. and it met its decadence since 13th century A.D. by the developed Jagannathism.

Jagannathism or Kruṣnism Caused a Set Back to Śiva Cult

We have told the legend of "Kalia Puri". It stands for mysterious story of becoming of Jagannatha. Its secrecy is known to Indra only. We have no opportunity to probe into the secrecy. Kruṣna became Jagannatha through the medium of Mādhava, a go-between of Śiva and Kruṣna. Why did Mādhava leave Śiva and stand for Kruṣna alone ? This answer can be found in the confession of Vilvamangala :—

> "Sevavayam na khalu tatra vicāraṇiyam
> pancākṣari japaparanitarām tathāpi
> ceta madiyamatasi kusumāva bhāsam
> smerānanam smarati gopavadhū kiśoram".[1]

It is not astonishing that Madhava Varman of the Sailodbhava dynasty was moved by the concord of sweet sounds of songs of the Alwars on dalliance between Kannan and Napinnai and it may be a fact the great scholar, Madhava

Varman was infused with the idea by Bhatta Narayana, a donee in the Purusottamapur Plates of Madhava Varman.[2] During sixth century A.D., appellations of Visnu used as metaphors for the great Saiva patron, Madhava Varman in all his grants. So also, during the reign of Sambhuyasa, a 'paramamahesvara' in northern Orissa, an image of Mudgalamadhava came in having some resemblance with the image of Nataraja of Asanpat. There might be some relative of Bhatta Narayana who had infused the idea into the mind of Sambhuyasa. Again, one grand-son of Bhatta Narayana, Bhattaputra Dandapani is seen to have taken grant in the Kesari Copper Plate of Satrubhanja of Khijjingakota and in that Plate he has been 'Srivisnudatta'.[3] Though the Matharas ruled over Kalinga for about 180 years Vaisnavism could have not been developed due to monopoly of Saivism. Prior to 6th century A.D. the legends and rumours might be there but there was no adequate skill of the Brahmanas to instrument the kings so that they would have been swayed away by Kruṣnism and monopoly of Saivism would have been lessened. Lack for long years was fulfilled during the period of the Sailodbhavas, the Mudgalas and the Sarabhapuriyas. The Brahmacaris worked in favour of expansion of Vaisnavism.

In the expansion of Vaisnavism we would see that Narendra of Sarabhapuriya dynasty became Paramabhagavata. His successor, issued gold coins with the image of Garuda flanked by a discus on its right and a conch on its left. After him Mahajayaraja and Mahasudevaraja were Paramabhagavatas in their grants. Pravaraja II in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. extended Vaisnavism in the Western Orissa. Tivaradeya and Mahanannaraja were designated as Paramavaisnavas. Harsagupta and his queen, Vasata were patrons of Vaisnavism. During the 9th century A.D. Tribhuvana Mahadevi and Candrikadevi of Bhauma dynasty were patrons of Vaisnavism. During the same period, Satrubhanja built the twin temples of Nilamadhava and Siddhesvara at Gandharadi. Following him, almost all the grants issued from Vanjuvalka by Nettabhanja and Solonbhanja speak about them to be 'Paramavaisnava'. It seems, about the 10th century, Vaisnavism had got a strong base in Orissa to vie with Saivism. Prior to 820 A.D. Samkara had established Bhogavarddhana pitha at Puri.[4] The popular Astaka '*Jagannatha svami nayanapathagami bhavatume*' of Samkara may corroborate the popularity of Puri being Jagannatha-Puri. Again, during the eleventh century A.D. Codaganga was called in by the Saivas to be the king in Orissa. Codaganga got the offer only because he was as a patron of Saivism. But occupying the throne he could not but support the Vaisnavism. It is not for his association with Ramanuja, but for the political condition. By this time many Madhava images were worshipped in Banapur, Puri and Prachi Valley. Madhava got independent status to be worshipped. The Chitrakarini temple at Bhubaneswara shows the tendency of having distinct status. Of course, the image of Mudgalamadhava was not with any such image of Śiva. But the early temples of Bhubaneswara took Kruṣna, Hari and Viṣnu as subordinates. Two of the friezes on the windows of the Jagamohana of Citrakarini temple deserve special attention. One frieze on the south depicts the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, while the other shows Kruṣna playing on his flute amidst his followers.[5] Prior to Ganga rule the Puranas also glorified Mahendra and Puri as Viṣnutirtha.

Distinct status of Kruṣna or Jagannatha has been told in an episode in the Garga Samhita as follows :—"The Yādavas performed an Asvamedha sacrifice. The Yādavas set the horse to move. As practice no power could check its movement. Valvala was blessed by Śiva. He caught the horse and held it up. A terrible battle was fought between the Yādavas and Valvala. Śiva came to the battle field to support Valvala and so, Kruṣna came in to support the Yādavas. Śiva became hopeless at the sight of Śrikruṣna and tried to please him :—"deva deva jagannatha rādhikeśa jaganmaya" (Ch. 39.13). Then Kruṣna made a compromise :—"tvām namanti ca madbhaktyā stvadbhaktam mām sadāśiva" (Ch. 39.24). K. C. Panigrahi has shown many instances from Ekamra Purana showing coexistence of Śiva and Viṣnu.[6]

These two Puranas were written in about 13th century A.D. But these have recorded religious condition of Orissa prior to 13th century A.D. Though they speak about compromising nature of Saivism and Vaisnavism, the latter became more popular than the former. It is because of the efforts of Jayadeva and Narahari Tirtha. Lyrics of Jayadeva could have attracted many towards Radhā-kruṣna. Narahari Tirtha was Vaisnava and he acted as regent to the boy king Narasimha II. Narahari made efforts to spread out Vaisnavism in Orissa. During the Ganga rule there was no such Saiva exponent in Orissa who could have maintained distinction of Saivism. Rather they could not but accept the compromise. It is only literature which maintained its distinction to some extent till 16th century A.D. Kruṣna in literature stands for three aspects of life as Lord of Yoga, shepherd lover and diplomat. These three forms of Kruṣna represent knowledge, love and action. The Saint-poets of Oriya literature have made them a synthesis in their works. It is evident in the Rudrasudhanidhi of Narayanananda. In this work Abhinava Caitanya represents action, Rudrasudhanidhi represents knowledge and Dharmadhvaja represents love. These were absent in the Saivism under strong influence of Vajrayanic system. Narayana was a tantra-yogi. He did not like Saivism over-burdened with sexo-yogic elements. To him Jaya and Vijaya were more accomplished in Yogic practice than Nandikesvara and Karttikeya. Once he is seen to have praised[6] Gorakhanatha. Towards the last part of his description he has gone to the extent that Śiva as a Bhairava knew only 64 meditations, while a Yogi of Jagannatha knew 256 meditations. Moreover, the Saivas ran after jīvanmukti which could be obtained by one *nirmālya*. His Dharmadhvaja was an ideal for religious system. He was the best outcome of *Premabhakti*.[7] Whatever feasibility may there be in the Yogic system of the two creeds, Narayanananda was greatly vexed with the prevailing Śiva Cult during 14th-15th centuries.

Quantitative Increase in Śivalingas was a Qualitative Decrease in Saivism

The spirit of revolt against temple cult and pilgrimage was started from the period of the Boudha Siddhas and was ended during 16th-17th centuries A.D. Most of the temples and places of pilgrimage in Orissa were venerable for Śiva-lingas. The Siddhas, the Nathas and the Santhas made efforts to divert attention of people from outward worship to inward worship but nothing could check the go of the society which was under brahmanic influence.

Particularly, during the period of Bhaumakaras and Somavamsis Bhairava worship got a strong base and it was multiplied by conversion of village-deities. In conversion most of the Śivalingas were recognised as Bhairava and Svayambhū in order to draw favourable attention of people. Primarily, these were guardian deities. A. Eschmann identifies a rock representing Mother-Goddess encircled by Śakti, in front of the Bhairavi temple at Puruna-Cuttack in the district of Phulbani, as Śiva Bhairava and the same is the beginning of such reidentification in Brahmanic system.[8] We have also discussed the feasibility of this being the first reidentification of Bhairava before-hand. The Brahmana priests had changed the village deities into Bhairava and Bhairavi only with the idea of infusing fear in the minds of people for them. This was one of the ways of exploitation. Now if anybody keeps a coconut in any place on the road leading from Bhadrak to Akhandalesvara of Aradi that must be carried by the Bus men to Akhandalesvara. Perhaps, this is a common practice prevailing everywhere in Orissa and its seed is there in infusion of fear by the Brahmana priests. It is surely a departure from the basic concept of Bhairava. Even the great commentators on Nataraja as Bhairava have derived its fearful aspect. We may take the instance of Nataraja image of Asanpat for elucidation.

Nataraja Image of Asanpat

Generally, dance is considered as a human representation of the creative process of cosmos. The dancing Śiva is well known in the literature of mystic symbolism. In ordinary sense a symbol refers to a familiar object or an idea. So, dancing Śiva has been to represent the cosmic rhythm of creation.

Kewal Motwani took up the image of Nataraja of Chidambaram for showing all-inclusive power of Śiva. As usual, he cites the episode of Daksa's sacrifice. Satī abandoned her body, and consequent upon which Śiva danced furiously carrying her body. This is known as Tāndava. Śiva's destructive character is intensified here and he is Bhairava.[9]

This ferocity contrasts the fundamental idea about Bhairava or any other deity in Orissa. Here Jagannātha is Bhairava. The behaviour between the Daitās and Jagannātha does not speak of the latter being ferocious. This is not the tradition of Orissan deities. The ferocity has been added to some deities and so, there has come over some change. These contrasting features have been documented in the epigraphic records of Khinjalimandala and in the Nataraja image of that region. All the Grants of Khinjalimandala except No. 13 describe Bhairava as "Samhārakāla hṛtamṛga Vikarāla ghora samhāranta kimkara kṛtānta nitānta bhinnam bhinnāndhakāsura mahāgahanānta. . . ."[10]

In this Khinjalimandala the Nataraja image is seen with eight arms displaying various attributes, of which two are engaged in playing Vinā, one showing Varadamūdrā, one holding trident, one with Aksamālā, one with dambaru, and two holding snake over his head. Above all it is seen in penis erectus position.

This image refers to the episode of destruction of Andhaka and Dāruka as described in the Śiva Purana.[11] In this episode Andhaka and Dāruka threatened the Aryan world. No god could kill them. Śiva and Kālī came into rescue. Kālī became ferocious and killed them. It is astonishing even after their death her anger remained as before. At the sight of this all alarming attitude of Kālī gods became more bewildered. As there was no other way to be saved from the anger of Kālī, Śiva turned into an infant. Kālī seeing this infant took him to her breast. Infant Śiva shucked her breast and Kālī's anger went out. She became calm. They engaged in '*Tāndava*'. This *Tāndava* dance was reference to the musical form of Śiva who plays on lute and flute in the Taittiriya Samhita.[12] It is not Śiva only who dances, the Vedic Indra as a dancer is also remembered in Jaina tradition and he was dancing on the occasion of birth of Tirthamkaras. So Kalidaśa in his 'Malavikagnimitra' (I.4) has made the dance a sacrifice. *Śiva Tāndava* of Asanpat has been oriented on the basis of gana dance in tradition. The artists had given the local habitation and local faith an Puranic colour. Under the traditional religious faith, the king and the artist could avail of the urge to keep beauty and sublimity in one stone. It signifies the *Nispanda* state of *tamas* (eros) of Śiva. Bhairava and Bhairavī were offered human sacrifice in the Vindhyas till last century. Omkara and Kālī at Mandhata were given last such offering in the year 1824.[13] Though Khinjalimandala was a part of Vindhyatavi, Bhairava of Asanpat did not refer to the tradition prevailed in Mandhata.

It may be a fact that the Brahmanas of Madhyadesa were quite familiar with the sanguinary rites observed in the Vindhyas and they had introduced the concept of Kala-Bhairava in Orissa. Primarily Śiva and Ambā were guardian deities and were graceful. Bhairava and Bhairavī with destructive features did not serve the basic principle of Saivism, it served the purpose of the Brahmana priests. In this way they had increased Svayambhus. By the influence of the Brahmanas of the Vindhyan region the epigraphic records were prepared showing traits of Kāla-Bhairava. But practically sanguinary rites were not effected for Jagannatha, Bhairava at Kenduli and Bhairava near Varahapur.

Svayambhus were Creations of Brahmana Priests

The Brahmana priests having royal patronage had converted some village guardian deities into *Svayambhu Lingas* and they had installed *Siddhalingas.* Lingas existing in the river bank, in the river bed and in the hills were fashioned in such a way that they gave the airs of self-created. We may take Singhanatha at Gopinathapur of Baramba in Cuttack district and Akhandalesvara at Aradi in Balasore district for showing the making of Svayambhu and the real Svayambhu. Singhanatha has been told as Svayambhu in the epigraphic records of Orissa. No doubt, Singhanatha is an Old Linga. Speaking about the temple of Singhanatha K. C. Panigrahi says, "it too seems to have belonged to the transitory period between the Sailodbhava and Bhauma political epochs".[14] Inference of K. C. Panigrahi does not seem to be correct. Construction of temple may be related to the formation of Baramba as a state, which may not be prior to Ganga rule.[15] Long before 11th-12th centuries A.D., linga might have come into prominence. Singhanatha is in a delta created in the river Mahanadi. Towards upper part of the delta there is a hill. The hill divides the river into two parts. Virtually, the hill is the cause of creating the delta. Singhanatha is not a smooth stone. It is a fact that stone was a part of the hill and it was there before creation of the delta. After creation of the delta it must have come to the notice of some Brahmana residing at Gopinathapur Village. Gopinathapur is a big village having at least one hundred brahmin families. There must be some legend about the stone being recognised as Singhanatha. This writer could not collect the legend. In opposite we may look to the site of Akhandalesvara linga at Aradi. Now the shrine stands in the confluence of the rivers. Vaitarani and Salandi. There is probability that the linga is self-created. This writer has shown the feasibility in his 'Akhandalamani itivṛtta' published by Ananda Publishers, Cuttack 1978. This Linga has come to prominence by the patronage of Zamidars of Kanika and by a farmer of Aradi village.

In many cases it would be seen that the Brahmana priests high lighted ordinary lingas. These ordinary Lingas, which were brought before them by the indigenes, were worshipped first as guardian deities. The interference of Brahmana priests had exalted them later as *Svayambhus* and had made the non-brahmana Sevayatas semi-brahmanised.

Besides, the Brahmana priests had increased one *Svayambhu* or Siddhalinga to eight to form Astasambhu. There are *Astasambhus* in different names in different places of Orissa. But these *Astasambhus* do not conform the Vedic or the Puranic description. The idea of Astasambhus owed much to eight manifestations of Rudra-Sarva, Bhava, Pasupati, Isana, Bhima, Rudra, Ugra and Mahadeva. They, according to the Linga Purana, "astamurtte jagadyāpya sthitaya paramesthinah".[16] In localisation, *Astasambhus* were eight lingas only without conformity of Yogic process. They were designed to command from common people.

Saraladas describes Astasambhus of Praci tirtha and they are Gokulesvara, Pingalesvara, Duresvara, Gramesvara, Mahesvara, Natakesvara, Svalpesvara, and Rudresvara. He had made them as old as Śacī. Śacī was worshipping them everyday.[17] Showing the antiquity of another group of *Astasambhus* he describes an episode. Once Gomukhesvara was laying facing west wards. When Praci was dug out his tail was cut off into eight pieces. Then each piece was worshipped as Śivalinga. These Lingas were Gokarnesvara, Kapalesvara, Sobhanesvara, Gramesvara, Harasamkaresvara, Somesvara, Natakesvara, and Suklesvara.[18] Saraladas is seen protesting against the Brahmana priests. These were creations of priestly tradition. Still he did not lost sight of them as he was a Saiva.

Interference of Brahmana priests can be seen in formation of *Astasambhus* in Narasinghpur. In Narasinghpur the popular Spring Festival has been observed in honour of *Sambhus*. Each village there has a shrine of *Sambhu*. Movable images of *Sambhus* are carried to the Assembly (Milana) held at Narasinghpur town. Among all, Bholanatha of Valijhari, Campanatha of Campesvara, Velanatha of Padamala, Sapanesvara of Ghoradia, Muktanatha of Nuagaon, Valunkesvara of Rejiapada, Somanatha of Malisahi and Guptesvara of Kokalava form the group of Astasambhus. Among the Astasambhus Campanatha is the chief and while all Sambhus come to the Assembly riding on bulls, Campanatha come with a gull and a lion. It is peculiar to see the Spring Festival of Narasinghpur has been arranged in accordance with Phagesia of the Greeks, the Phamenath of the Egyptians and the Saturnalia of antiquity in which people rejoice offering agricultural products to their phallic deities.[10] It is a fact that the Spring Festival of Narasinghpur has been coming down in this way since remote past. The intelligent Brahmana immigrants accepting dominant phallic worship of the region had changed the Ambalingas into Śivalingas. Moreover, Guptesvara at Kokalava seems to be one ancient Linga. In place of Guptesvara, Campanatha has been exalted for the dominance of Brahmanas at Champesvara.

Lingas were increased in great number, each with some dream or legend showing miraculous attribute. People believed them. There was no truth behind the dreams, legends and make-beliefs. Fulfilling of desire is always accidental except some few cases, which fall under the scope of *ārṣavacana* or Yogic utterance and it was there throughout ages. This is the peculiarity of *Siddhalingas* and *Svayambhulingas*. So all the lingas were not effective. If a linga ceases to be effective, it falls. Popularity of Lingas became proportional with their functional utility. So many Lingas became useless. This is the reason for which a good number of Lingas are lying unworshipped in Saiva centres like Jajpur, Praci Valley and many other places.

Material View of Society

Primarily, Saivism stood on the ground of social consciousness. It was aiming at illumination of one's being through tantra-yoga. The perfection in it was bringing phallic feature, which was ending in erotic view. Arts and architectures of Orissa prior to the 11th century A.D. are evidences of this feature of Saivism. It is, perhaps, during 8th century the Buddhism extended its potentialities to Saivism and Śivalingas were prepared according to tantric formula, which have been superseded by Buddhistic elements. Kularnavatantra takes up Bhaga and Linga as symbolic expression of the universe.[20] It has imposed much restriction on sex of the *Kaulas*. In early phallism Bhaga stood for Sūrya and Śiva, and for ovals in Serah of the Indus Valley seals (Supra, Ch. II). From these sources, the Kaula-tantra made use of Bhaga to stand for generative organ of Ambā, and the Vajrayana in this sense added pornography to it. Durgadas Sircar says that Candarosa Mohatantra is the oldest text of Vajrayana and it was not available. One commentary of this text, which was written eight hundred years ago, has yet been discovered. In this commentary sex has been appreciated—"catvāra ānandastatra prajnopāyabhyāmnyonyānu ragalaksasamalinganacumbanastanamardananakhadānadini Yantrārūḍhavatvena Vajrapadma samyogam..."[21] But the Kaulatantra accepted neither Vajra nor Padma as symbol of the universe.[22] Of course, later Saiva tantra has accepted the opinion of the Candarosa Mahatantra. This was the fall of Vajrayana and Saivism of later age. Hackmann indicating the reason says, "In Tantrism the faith of the Buddha adopted a strongly marked sexual character. They set up pairs of deities, so that everywhere the male deity was accompanied by its female counterpart. These 'female energies' were frequently represented with male deities in such a way that, notwithstanding a deeper meaning behind the conception of sex which might be pretended, practically it is certain that a strongly immoral attitude has been introduced by this symbolism."[23] This '*Yantrarudhavat*' of the Candarosa Mahatantra has been taken into the Linga Purana for prescription of rules for installation of Linga as "Lingavedi umādevi linga sāksyāt maheśvara" etc.[24] The Linga Purana of 11th century A.D. is purely a priestly text of the Brahmanas. It has modelled Yantra for Linga to fit for the people who were familiar with phallic worship. Though the Oriyas had this attitude the social reformers of 15th-17th centuries could not accept its immoral aspect. We have told above that all the places of pilgrimage have Śivalingas of this type. Specially saint poets like Saraladas, Balaram Das, Achyutananda tried their best to divert the attention of people from sexo-Yogic deities to the tantra-yogic spirit of the self. Achyutananda Das in his 'Brahmasamkoli' says, "he who knows own body cult does not care for linga and accepts it a stone".[25] So also Dvarika Das in 'Siva Purana', Candramani Das in 'Sudhasara Gita', Balaram Das in 'Virata Gita' and many others have stressed upon Body Cult. For this reason while a good number of books were written on Tantra and Dharmasastra, a few Puranas, Kavyas, booklets and lyrics were written glorifying Śiva and Śakti in Sanskrit and Oriya. The tantric texts and Dharmasastras were mainly intended to initiate the common folk into priestly occupation and their quantity was vast. These have been collected and preserved in the Orissa Museum. Among the Puranas, Kavyas, booklets and lyrics many are adoptions and a few may be classed in creative head. Śiva and Ambā were non-brahmanic deities. Orissa came into being as a tribal state. In course of time tribe was Hinduized. When the tribe was changed, the religious behaviour also changed. In this state of affairs, the Hinduized tribe did not form the same integrated unit of previous community. It can be seen from the epigraphic records of the Sailodbhavas and the Bhanjas. They became more associated with the Brahmana immigrants who were well conversant with *dharmasūtras* and had written *dharmasastras* in Orissa. The converted tribal rulers proved zealous builders of temples, and their inscriptions speak of their faith on Saivism. Though the social tradition did not disappear completely, their religious faith flourished under the Brahmanic tradition based on *dharmasūtras*. Temples were located in groves sacred to the people, but no sooner had they upgraded than they were closed for the tribes.

Now it would be seen that the Sudras are denied to enter into the temples of Śiva and Śakti, in which *brahmanas* occupied Chairs of priest-hood. It is seen everywhere irrespective of religions. How are Śiva and Śakti responsible for the social evil of untouchability? Saraladas has provided the picture of passing away of this social evil through the making of Jagannatha. Sabara and Brahmana became brothers in the cathedral of Brahmanas. Arjuna killed Kapila with wrong impression that she was a rhinoceros. A Linga came out from that place. Kruṣna selected a Sabara to worship the Linga and he has given him a sacred thread so as to be known as Brahmana priest.[26] K. C. Panigrahi tracing out the historicity of the facts of Sarala Mahabharata has gone up to 8th century A.D. and in this connection he has referred Dharmapala (770-815).[27] It seems Saraladas recorded cultural history of Orissa since beginning of immigration of Brahmanas into Orissa. Jagannatha was a tribal deity and she wanted Savara, not a Brahmana alone. In raising out the wooden log from the sea Brahmana was treated subsidiary factor.[28] In the making of Jagannatha, Jakar(ma) was the base. At that time untouchability was not in vogue in Saiva shrines. It was restricted, perhaps, from time of Bhaumakara rule. As K. C. Panigrahi says, Ksemankara (736 A.D.) has established four Varnas in their proper position.[29] He was a Boudha and the Brahmanas might have been held high in worship of deities during his period and also in the succeeding age. Along with other potentialities of Buddhism, untouchability might have been shifted to Saivism when the former was faded away. Untouchability may be the reason for which there was dispute between the *Badus* and *Brahmanas* in Bhubaneswar and Codaganga was called in. Codaganga had supported Brahmanic creed. The restriction to enter into the temples of the Sudras was continued. That restriction on untouchability had affected humility of Balaram Das and for this, he was debarred from sitting with the Brahmanas and from reciting Vedic hymns.[30] The social evil like untouchability became wide spread in the temple cult of Orissa and it was emphasised through the doctrine of Moksa through *Darsana* of a deity in the place of pilgrimage. In religious practice there evolved closed castes—Brahmana and non-Brahmana. The *Santhakavis* had done their best to root out the evil, but in vain. So it became a clarion call of the high elites of 19th century A.D. to bring a reformation in religious practice in India and later, in Orissa too. The national awakening laid much emphasis on creation of a homogenous society based on religion till then. The ritual position of the Brahmanas was seriously viewed by English school going people. "The Brahmanas became indolent. From their brahmanic attributes—*yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, dāna* and *pratigraha*, they were indulged themselves only *pratigraha*. *Dharma* became their profession for living by and a sacred thread became their only weapon to be known as Brahmana". "In this condition of society Dharmadeva remained in painful thought; courage, truth, austerity etc. were in deep remorse".[31] In this way Fakir Mohan Senapati also has hammered upon the society poluted by the Brahmanas. It means once upon a time the Brahmanas were torch-bearers of Orissa and also of the whole of the *Mlecchabhumi* in the East. For continuation of cultural trend created by the Brahmanas, prior to the 10th century A.D., was the duty of the Brahmanas and the Sudras of later age. Beginning from the 19th century A.D. the Missonaries, Radhanatha Ray, Fakir Mohan Senapati and Madhusudan Das have stressed upon social reformation in their works. Really the social degradation was not occurred during their contemporary period, it was coming down since the period of Ganga rule. Radhanatha Ray has brought to light in his '*Mahāyātrā*' in the year 1891-92. His idea of social utilitarianism and reformation was highly indebted to the Brahmana social reformers like Raja Rammohan Ray, and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya of West Bengal. Raja Rammohan Ray, in about 1832, had pleaded in favour of wedding rites, which permitted inter-caste and inter-communal marriage. He wanted all men to equally enjoy or suffer and each individual must be free to pursue his worldly affairs without any useless religious restraints.[32] Religious restraints from Brahmana priests of Bengal was, possibly, more than those of Orissa. Because during the medieval period Śiva worship in Bengal was in higher degree than Orissa. So the interference of Brahmana-priests in social life of Bengal was greater and the movement started there by English learning Brahmanas against the priesthood. A new class consisting of all castes emerged there searching for new ideas and a new code of behaviour. They made efforts for social advancement reforming religious behaviour of Brahmana-priests. Still the Brahmana caste as an endogamous group with strict laws concerning marriage and inheritance remained in full force. Bankim Chandra came with a sociological approach to religious literature and institutions. To him there are myths, customs, institutions, which are unnecessary adjuncts of Hinduism : these are "to be found among the lower strata of Hindu society and it is the duty of the better educated Hindu" to eradicate them.[33] Influence of Bankim Chandra and Raja Rammohan Ray was greatly sounded in the literary works of modern age in Orissa. Radhanatha Ray, in respect of social reformation, has given call to the educated Hindus in his '*Daravara*' and '*Mahāyātrā*' and Nilakantha Das came out as his true disciple, and he became an example as a reformist. Brahmana priests underwent English learning instead of Sanskrit learning and entered into service instead of priestly business. In addition, educational and material consciousness entered into the non-Brahmanas. As a result, Śivalingas and Ambālingas known by various appellations remained unworshipped, and their number is much greater than those are worshipped now. This peculiar feature of decline in Linga worship can be seen everywhere in Orissa.

This writer has kept Akhandalesvara of Aradi and Svapnesvara of Athagarh under observation since last 5 years. Now it is seen while pilgrims have been multiplied by ten times at Aradi, Svapnesvara temple at Athagarh has come to a stage of opening for half an hour a day. The former has become a Tourist Centre and the latter depends on a man who has got education and so, is busy in some other profiteering business. It is higher education which will allow some Saiva centres to flourish through tourism and will allow others to be faded away under the sway of individual consciousness and social consciousness.

Conclusion

According to epigraphic and archaeological evidences Śaivism got royal patronage from 4th-5th centuries by the influence of the Brahmana immigrants. Most of the Brahmanas were of Saiva creed, but among them there were a few who were Vaisnavas. For these Brahmanas of Saiva creed and Vaisnava creed there came a quantitative increase in cult-spots of Śiva worship and Vaisnavism crept into the religious scene, in which Saivism had monopoly, of Orissa· Though Vaisnavism had a penetration through rumours and legends and moreover, it had got royal support during the period of the Matharas it could not flourish much till beginning of the Ganga rule. Mādhava was the real medium through which Vaisnavism occupied a strong hold in Orissa at the initial stage. Mādhava was the successful bridge between Śiva and Viṣnu. Among the Brahmanas, most probably, Bhatta Narayana was the real man who had infused the charming god-hood of Kruṣna into the minds of Sambhuyasa of the Mudgalas and Madhavaraj of the Sailodbhavas without their knowledge. The image of Mudgalamadhava at Dolasahi of Balasore district and the occasional description of Viṣnu in the way of metaphors may be taken to corroborate the act of sowing the seed of Vaisnavism by Bhatta Narayana through Mādhava, who was popular as Śiva and Malei (Mahendra malei) in Orissa. In Western Orissa the Vaisnavism was developed by the Sarabhapuriyas and the Bhanjas within the 8th-9th centuries. Within this period Mādhava was recognised as Jagannatha and also, was popular. In this transformation Jakarma was the stem. Jagannatha was Viṣnu or rather Kruṣna-Mādhava. Mādhava was in company of Śiva till 11th century A.D. Mādhava or Kruṣna achieved distinct position, and could vie with Saivism. During 13th century A.D. Saivism and Vaisnavism had a compromise, and still Vaisnavism achieved dominance over Saivism· The Brahmanas entering into Orissa had given impetus to the increase of temple cult and of pilgrimage dominated by Śiva and Śakti. These were increased with lingas and images enshrined in the temples and in the places of pilgrimage. The *Siddhas,* the *Nathas* and the *Santhas* tried their best to divert the attention of the people from linga worship to body-cult, but in vain. Linga worship increased in the way of *Astasambhu.* These were increased through believable legends and dreams. The popularity of Lingas really was depended on their functional utilities. Where there was want of utility, there came a fall. In this way many lingas became useless.

Revolt initiated during 15th-16th centuries against priestly behaviour in Linga worship was accelerated during 19th century and 20th century by English learning national thinkers like

Radhanatha Ray, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Nilakantha Das and many others. By them individual consciousness and social consciousness became widespread in Orissa and people became more attentive to individualism and socialism than to *Moksa* and worldly utility to be achieved through Linga worship. The Linga worship in the hands of priests caused Saivism to fall from its illuminating pedestal. In all, Saivism got a set back by the development of Jagannathism, quantitative increase of Śivalingas and growth of material view of the people.

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6

Conclusion

FROM foregoing chapters we have devoted Chapters I and II in dealing with common conditions of Śiva and Śiva Cult, and Chapters III, IV and V in dealing with Śiva Cult of Orissa. We have made efforts to give a critical and comparative study of Śiva Cult from the sources of field work, literature and history. We have dealt with the subject from sociological and philosophical points of view. So our findings are mainly based on deriving the feasibilities of the myths and folklore existing in literature, and in tribal and sophisticated classes in Orissa and also other parts of India too.

Orissa is an agrarian Rajya. The Uḍras, forming the bulk of the Sabaras or Nisadas, are indigenous people of Orissa. As regards racial identity the Uḍras precede the Kalingas. The Kalingas are elites of all tribal unities of the Sabaras and they had formed the kingdom of Kalinga which precedes Kosala, Tosali, Uktala and Uḍra. Kalinga came into prominence for the interference of Dirghatamas who had aryanised the East and he seems more concerned to Orissan Culture.

The primitives had no definite idea about god. Their manner of worship to any god was heterogenous. Their religion was not definite. Generally, the Spirits and the abodes of Spirits were also gods to them. So gods were numerous. The primitives were nomads. They had the strong belief upon the gods that the latters were giving them food, shelter and they could increase their families by the blessings of theirs. In their nomadic state, while occasions were arising, they were offering their surplus foods to their gods and with the cult-spots they were changing places of habitations. In course of time, they made settled habitations. They became food-producers. Ideas and status developed. They wanted to live long. They searched after patron deities. The Mother-Earth and the Sun became primary patron deities. The Mother-Earth was greater than the Sun. Still the Sun was unavoidable. The Sun remained within the Mother-Earth. They were patron deities and the deities of their food-production. The idea about them may be called Bhagavatism or Phallism. At the time of necessity they created ways and means for their outward conjugal union. In such union there was nothing obscene.

Days rolled down. Proto-Śiva and Ambā appeared in the Indus Valley. They were adepts in tantra and Hathayoga. They turned occult practice into a science. Hathayoga was physical culture. Śiva and Ambā laid emphasis on Pranayama and Asana. Hathayoga brought Samadhi to them. It was material Samadhi. Tantra was its supplementary objective. Hathayoga was added to a spiritual path leading to the expansion of his being. That is the reason we call it Tantra-Yoga or Śiva-Yoga in our work. In this practice Śiva dominated over Ambā. Then domination of patriarchy over matriarchy began in social level. Still Ambā had maintained her ritual status. By dint of perfection they were revered substitutes of the earlier Phallic deities, the Sun and the Earth. Still later age, the Sun and the Earth, and Śiva and Ambā remained indifferent according to the variations of locality and of faith. So also remained the transcendental spiritism and phallism hand in hand.

Śiva and Ambā were theists. The theism had divisions, polytheism, henotheism and monotheism. Monotheism was a spiritual cult and it was tantric. From the time of Śiva it was a type by itself. It brought release in life-time. In monotheism god was determined to be far away from the devotee, in henotheism god was one, but was not god of gods, and in polytheism god was nearer and dearer one. Gods formed

Triad in consideration of their functions. Triad occupied highest honour in the Hindu pantheon. But the idea of Triad sprung from Śiva-Yoga. Though the basic idea of Triad goes to the credit of Triple-frons of Proto-Śiva, the term itself owes much to Babylonian Trigon. In the conception of Hindu Triad Śiva became the fourth entity from whom Brahma, Visnu and Rudra came forth representing the principal elements of Hathayoga, the air (water), the fire and the combination of the two. The latter came as the microcosm of the fourth entity.

Saivism was established in the Indus Valley and it remained traditional till 6th century B.C. During the period of Mahavira and Gautama, along with all new religions, Saivism got impetus to get sectarian status. The traditional Saivism was upheld by the Vratyas, Angirasas and Vasisthas during the Vedic age and later, by Yajnavalkya, Sveta, Panini, Pingala, Kanada and Gautama, still, except the Vratyas, none of them was attached to any definite sect. Vratyas were turned into Bhagavatas or Dandins. The definite Saiva organisation was founded by Lakulisa and it was Pasupata system. During the Gupta age and later, the Pasupata system gave rise to many sects, of which Natha sect had greater social impact.

But it is not known if there was a man named Śiva who was revered as a man-god in the Indus Valley. It would be seen that the personal noun, Śiva has, more or less, similarity with Seva, Hermes Sabazius, Osiris, Serah and Ceing. Among them Ceing was the Austric god and now, perhaps, Ceing is known as Cingi among the Mundas. Serah in the Indus Valley, Cingi of the Mundas and Osiris of the Egyptians are Sun-gods. Most probably, the man of Nisadabhumi in the Vindhyan region had gone over the Indus Valley as a pilgrim. During that period the Indus Valley was the place of pilgrimage presided over by the phallic deities; the Sun and the Earth. The man practised tantra-yoga there along with his consort. Both of them achieved perfection and the man became popular as Śiva and his consort became popular as Ambā (Mā). They could meet the demand of the people what they used to get from the Sun and the Earth. They put down the Sun and the Earth, and became their representatives to the people. The kiths and kins of Śiva were evolved as the Dravidas and the followers of his religious doctrine were Vratyas. Sometime about 1800 B.C. they all were driven out by the Jhkars, with whom the Aryans had to fight. The Vratyas were like Gnostics.

The Aryans were crop-men of the Gangā-Jamunā Doab which was the habitation, mainly, of the Nagas. The seers of the Vedas were elites of the Arya and of the Dravida too. In the age of the Aryan civilisation the Vratyas, the Dravidas, the Angirasas, Vasistha, Indra and Rudra were custodians and exponents of ancient Saivism. Among them Indra and Rudra had achieved god-hood by dint of Śiva-Yoga and they became microcosms of pre-Vedic Śiva. As regards attainments of Śiva-Yoga, Indra was ahead of Rudra. Names of Rudra indicate that he had achieved eight attainments. Still Rudra became more appreciated in the later part of the Vedic age than Indra. Indra made way for Rudra. It happened so due to the phallic character of Indra. Phallic gods were not appreciated much by many of the Vedic seers and they stormed against phallism. Frequently Indra had been equated with Śiva and even with Sūrya. He was the builder of the culture, not the destroyer of the same. Still he fell back as he began to lose his identity in austere penance.

Rudra was the cause under transformation of pre-Vedic Śiva into Puranic-Śiva. The term Rudra-Śiva may be applied to Puranic-Śiva, not to Proto-Śiva. Still many principal characteristics of pre-Vedic Śiva were added to Puranic-Śiva and these came down through tradition and through Rudra. Above all, in such transformation the Hermetic religion had great share.

Śiva had a philosophy for his own life and for his fellowmen. His image might have come out of his own desire in his time. That philosophy aimed at second birth through attachment. Attachment was not the only end. Attachment was intended to bring detachment. For this reason, being exalted to the position of Ultimate Truth, Śiva and Rudra reveal a 'not-two' state, not 'one without the second', with the Yogins. In later age, the doctrine of 'not-two' state and the state of 'one without the second' between *Jīva* and *Parama* brought divisions in Saiva Philosophy, i.e. the Realistic School compirsing of Saiva Siddhanta and Rasesvaravada, and the

Idealistic School comprising of Kashmir Saivism and Pasupata system. In the Realistic School one tastes the Bliss, but one absorbs in it in the Idealistic School.

The philosophical view was in the root of formation of Kalinga kingdom. It is very likely Kalinga was the land of Ka-Linga worshippers. Ka-Linga connotes Sūryalinga or Bhaga, an exact synonym of phallic-god. Generally, Kalinga refers to the son of Sudesna-Dirghatamas, but really it refers to the view of Ka-Linga of Dirghatamas. Dirghatamas had aryanised the land lying in the narrow strip of the eastern sea-shore. So also, Agastya aryanised Tamilakam. Dirghatamas had introduced Sun worship in Kalinga and Agastya had introduced Indra worship in Tamilakam. Both the two kingdoms were inter-related. So the Kalingas were becoming Indras and the Tamilakas were becoming Bhagas. Indra and Bhaga were meeting together in phallic worship.

Sometimes, the Kalingas are said to be brave. It has been told in the sense of *Vyanjanā* (indirect meaning). Actually, the Kalingas were not brave in the battle field. They were brave in sea-faring and in becoming Indras. Their sea-faring habit created anger in Ashoka and their becoming of Indras created cultural back ground wherever they had gone. They had not won any mythical and historical war. They won battle only at the time of Kharavela. The Kalingas fought under the leadership of Kharavela were Uḍras in true sense. Because during the Kalinga war of Ashoka the Uḍra tribe and the deported Kalingas took shelter in the Plateaus and Rolling Uplands of present Orissa. They were established under the guidance of religious leader, Ganadanda-Virabhadra. They were Uḍras and the land they occupied between the rivers, Mahanadi and Vaitarani was called Uḍra Viṣaya or Uḍra kingdom. As usual, the Uḍras worshipped their cult-spot, Oḍāsuṇī or Oḷāsuṇī who may be identified with Kicakesvari in Mayurbhanja district and Oḷāsuṇī in Ratnagari area of Cuttack district. Ganadanda Virabhadra was really a Daṇdin or Bhagavata and a disciple of Śiva like mythic Virabhadra in Daksa's sacrifice. He might have been a man of Kathur in Ganjam district and during the Kalinga war of Ashoka he had gone over Bhanjabhumi. A similar Rudra has been referred to the description of Yudhisthira's pilgrimage in Kalinga nearby the river, Vaitarani. On the basis of Ganadanda Virabhadra the antiquity of Saivism in Orissa may be pushed back to the period following the Kalinga war of Ashoka and it was developed since Sunga-Kushana period. Saivism of Orissa is a transitional phase of Sun Cult. The Mukhalinga of Sitabanji is the first evidence of transition of phallism from the Sun to Śiva which means *Sūryabhagas* were transformed into *Śivabhagas*. This transition has been reflected in the folk festival like Dandayatra followed by Uḍāparva of Mayurbhanja district.

Ganadanda Virabhadra was the disciple of Vasistha who had recognised Rudra as Trimatura. It means Rudra gets born from three nerves. As a man of Vasistha lineage, Ganadanda Virabhadra would have taught Hathayoga to the Uḍras. The Yogic practice followed by the Uḍras were known later as Uḍrayāna. Uḍrayāna is found recorded in the Gheranda Saṃhita. For this peculiarity the Buddhist scholars took Orissa as Uḍḍiyānāpitha. It has been accepted by them in the same way as they appropriated Śiva, Ambā, Indra and many village deities as their own. The Buddhists were compelled to do so, because Buddhism was suppressed for popularity of Saiva deities. That was the reason which led Asvaghosa to modify early Buddhism. There were great scholars in Buddhism and they could influence the traditional Saivism in many respects. Still the Saivism could maintain its originality in the field of austerity and for this, the Nathas were honoured. Due to excess use of pornography in their cult Buddhism went underground with the end of the Bhaumakaras. But the Uḍḍiyānāpitha went to the credit of Jagannatha. It incurs controversy among the scholars as to the identification of Uḍḍiyānā, whether it is Puri or Khiching. In both the ways Uḍḍiyānā upholds the Saivite origin.

The Vaisnavism in Orissa is Jagannathism or rather Kruṣnism. As regards ancient Bhakti Cult, Jagannathism represents the Uḍra culture having Saiva doctrine of 'not-two' ideal and Kruṣnism represents Kalinga culture having 'one without the second' ideal. Kruṣnism got traditional character to establish itself in the form of Jagannathism. For the traditional character Kruṣnism could draw the attention of the Sabaras and later, of Indradyumna or a tantrin to establish it in the soil of Saivism and Buddhism. From 7th century A.D.

a division in royal patronage came in Saivism due to growth of Buddhism and later, of Vaisnavism.

Saivism had monopoly in the religious ideas of people till 7th century A.D. Kruṣnism as an alternation of Vaisnavism set foot in Orissa round about beginning of the Christian era and it developed along with Buddhism from 6th-7th centuries A.D. Buddhism was put down in 9th century A.D. and its place was filled up by Vaisnavism. Buddhism and Vaisnavism were developed on the track of Saivism. The Saivism had strong impact on the social life of the people of Orissa. The impact can roughly be divided into two heads—institutional and theological. Theological behaviour is related to folk-traditions of agriculture, trade and aspiration of living and of increasing own family. Raja festival, Pana Samkranti, Garbhana Samkranti, hatred towards Yogi and adoption of son-in-law are Saivite. Institutional behaviour is related to dharma (religion), artha (wealth), kama (sex) and moksa (liberation). Though people accept the Sun and the consideration of virtue and vice as *dharma*, the idea of *dharma* has been shifted to Śiva in literary documents and in major popular usages. Besides the snake-worship and the bull-worship of people sprung from Saiva influence.

The Saiva influence of rustic nature was Brahmanised from 4th-5th centuries. The Brahmanas immigrated into Orissa were in need of staying amidst the tribes. Their own interest, had appreciated the tribal deities and rituals as their own, and gradually they had changed the manner of worship and they recognised the deities with sanskritised names. Most of the Brahmanas were with Saiva creed, but a few were there with Vaisnava creed. No doubt, the Brahmanas of Saiva creed had developed Saivism to a greater extent. This development was effected typically in its quantitative aspect. All that came resembling a Śivalinga began to be worshipped. So Śivalingas were multiplied as *Astaśambhūs, Dvādaśaśambhūs* (Praci Valley), and Pancalingas (nearby Narasinghanath) etc. Lingas were installed with tantric formula for the purpose of creating make-believe. But virtually, Lingas did not serve the purpose of the ~~people as~~ Brahmanic literature glorified them in highest tune. So many Śivalingas fell back. So also Vaisnavism entering into the religious field of Orissa took the form of

Madhava and Madhava was multiplied. Madhava became the best bridge between Visnu and Śiva and their equation resulted in the idea of Jagannatha. Jagannatha was the sanskritised form of Jagulai which had been derived from tribal *Jākarma*. Vaisnavism in form of Madhava and Jagannatha became popular and for this, Saivism got a set back. The Santhas of Orissa revolted against the priestly behaviour of the Brahmanas and it was more accelerated by English learning national thinkers. They brought a change over the doctrine of individual consciousness of Śiva. Some demerit was seen in the doctrine. Individual consciousness brought self-sufficiency. But all such individuals, perhaps, could not stand together in the social life and so, there came disputes and divisions. There was no remedy to it. Thousands of years passed away. It required social consciousness and that was introduced by Karl Marx. All English learning reformers became followers of his doctrine. As a result, Śiva Cult of individual consciousness remained in its fading phase. Still it is existing under uncertainty in Orissa and in India as well.

To conclude, Śiva and Śiva Cult in general have, as it is evident, much similarity with the cults of Osiris and Hermes. Cults of Hermes and Osiris and following them the Cult of Mithra, were more influential in Eurasia prior to the Puritan Movement which was launched before the Christian era. They were Sun-gods and were worshipped as phallic gods in agricultural folk-festivals. Agricultural festivals now in vogue in Orissa have the same social value as that of ancient Greece, Egypt and Central Asia. It is not known exactly how such agricultural festivals were implanted in Orissa. The Kalingās and the Mithraists may be in the exchange of ideas. A comparative study on the agricultural festivals of different base lands of ancient culture may throw light on the antiquity of folk agricultural festivals of Orissa, and association Śiva with them and with Orissa too. History of Saivism in Orissa is, really, the history of beginning of Iron age, of permanent settlement of the Sabaras and of food-producing stages of the nomads. In one word, the history of Saivism may be estimated from the economic history, which has not yet been looked into, of Orissa. In ancient time phallic deities were deities of economy and so of life as well. So we have, to some extent, stressed upon sociological stages, with which Śiva Cult was linked, of Orissa. With this consideration Śiva Cult of Orissa has absolutely been associated with the Aryanisation of Dirghatamas, with a Kalinga being emerged as Gaṇadaṇḍa and Vīrabhadra, with the emergence of Mukhalingas and Oḍāsuṇī, and with the prevalence of Śiva Cult in the South and in Madhyadesa, and it was instilled and metamorphosed within the third century B.C..

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ERRATA

Correct	*Incorrect*
Page 1—Lines 14-17	
Śiva has been an off-spring of that process. The sculptural evidences, seals and tablets of the Indus Valley, where he was emerged as a great teacher, prompt us to say that he was a humanist, . . .	Śiva had been an tablets of the Indus Valley, where he was emerged as a great off-spring of that process. The sculptural evidences, seals and teacher, prompt . . .
Page 84—Line 35	
In pronunciation	In pronounciation
Page 91—Line 28	
totems	tatems
Page 91—Line 32	
account of their	account their

DESCRIPTION OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Earliest image of Śiva with trilpe-frons and with erected penis. It depicts him to be the Guide of Souls.

II. Image of Osiris. He became Guide of Egyptians since 2600 B.C. Collection from Bengali Magazine, Nara 'O' Nari, Calcutta.

III. Image of Hermes. He was hermaphroditus being associated with Aphrodite. Primarily he never had higher moral. From the time of Homer, he became Guide of souls. A collection from Bengali Magazine, ~~Nara~~ 'O' Nari and Oxford Classical Dictionary.

IV. An image of Rudra. It fits into the concept of Śivayogi burning in fire. Collection from National Museum, New Delhi.

V. A Śivayogi showing plexuses of Kundalini.

VI. Pancreas with splin and dudonum. It looks like a Linga. Pancreatic function has reference to the functional utility of Kundalini. Collection from Shahana's Anatomy and Samson Wright's Applied Physiology, Cyril A. Keele, Oxford University Press.

VII. (a) Svastik of Saivism, (b) Svastik of Buddhism showing basic difference between Saivism and Buddhism ; (c) Two fingers of a hand symbolising Danda and (d) One finger of one hand upon the palm of other hand symbolising Linga in Odisi Dance of Orissa. Collection from the Odissi Dance, D. N. Pattanaik and Buddhism As a Religion, H. Hackmann.

VIII. Divine body of YAB with his YUM in Buddhism. It contrasts the basic principle of Saivism which propounds Sakti to be united with Śiva. Collection from the Tantra : Its Mystic and Scientific Basis, L. P. Singh.

IX. The image of Śiva and Sakti in Sambhoga-Mudra in Sadacakra. It bears the testimony of Buddhist influence. Kangra School, 18th Century A.D.

X. Proto-historic rock paintings of Yogimatha in Orissa. Paintings of bull, triangles, rings and triple-strokes are interesting. These paintings speak about the prevalence of Phallism in Orissa since remote past. In the past bull was the representation of Sun-gods.

XI. Image of Nataraja at Asanpat.

XII. Erotic image of Rajarani temple at Bhubaneswar.

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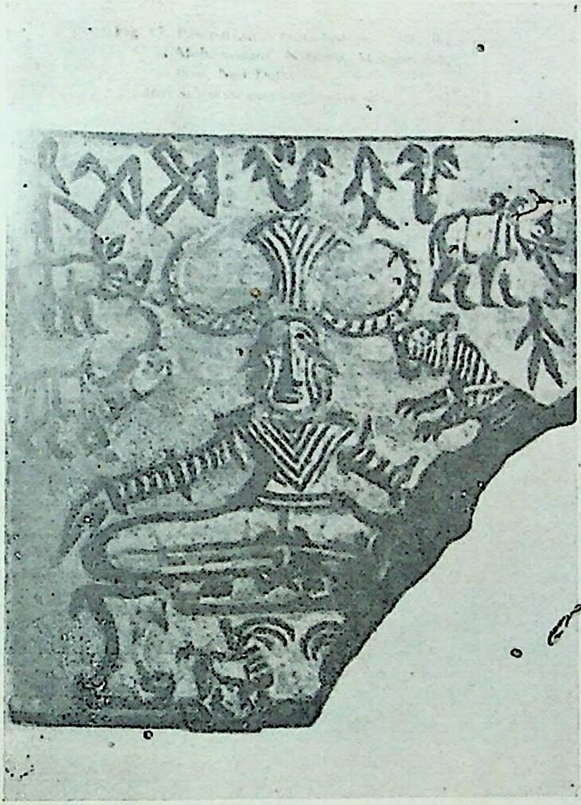
Plate No.—1



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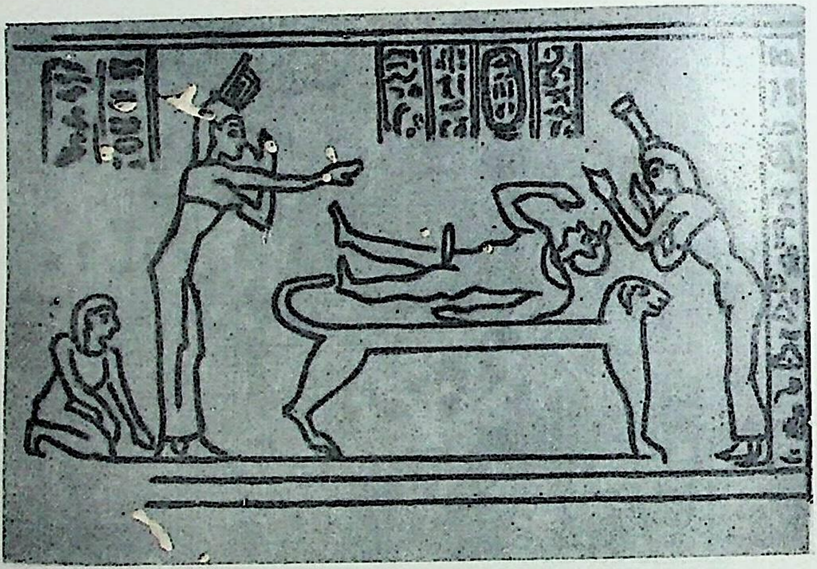

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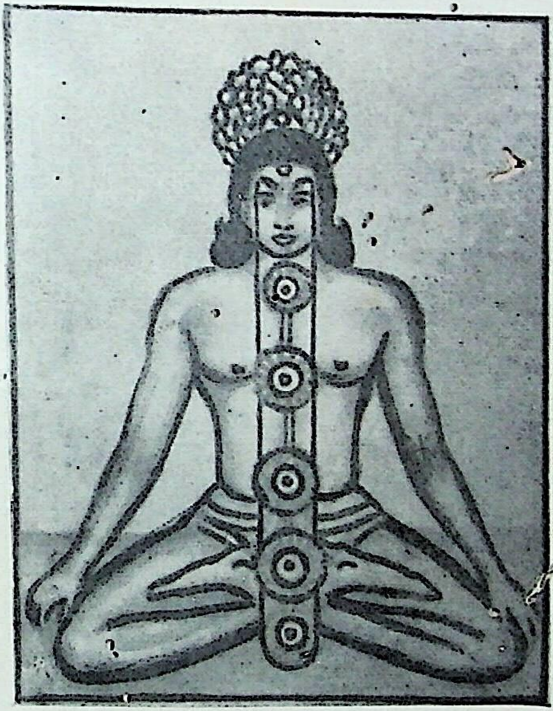

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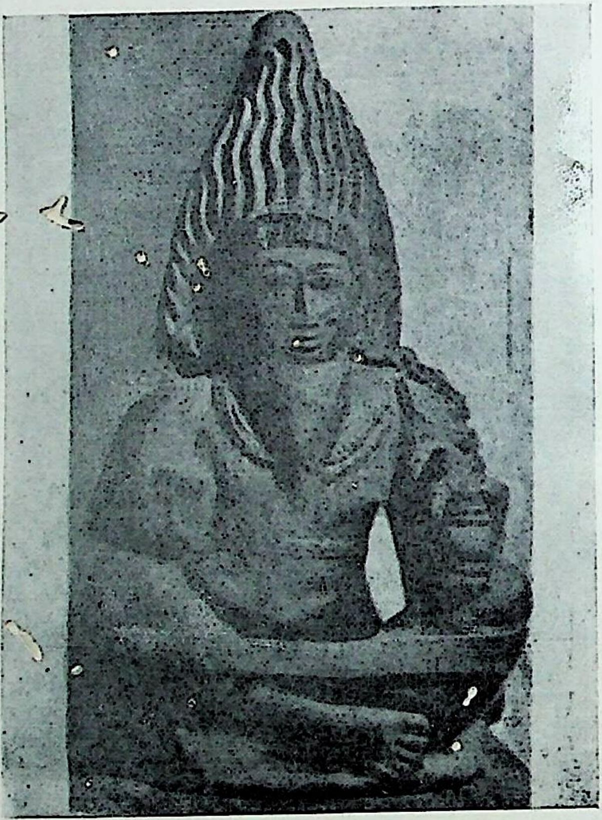

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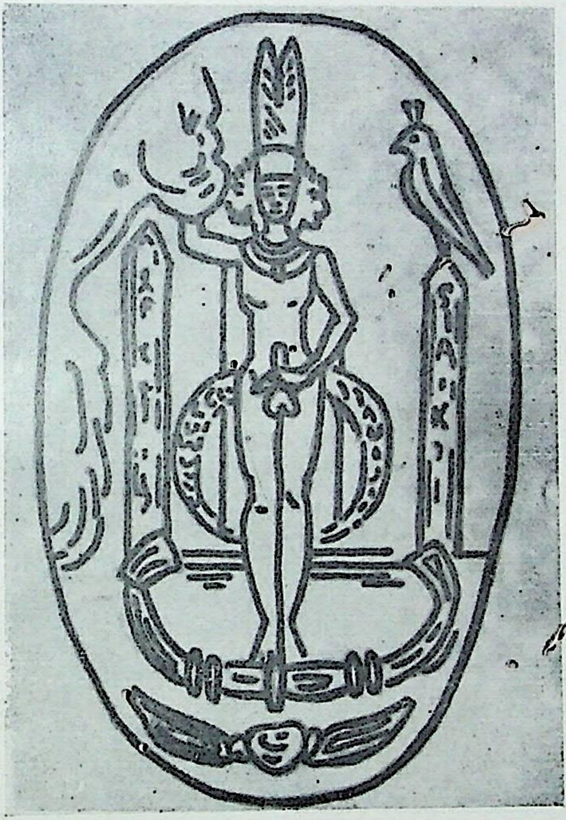

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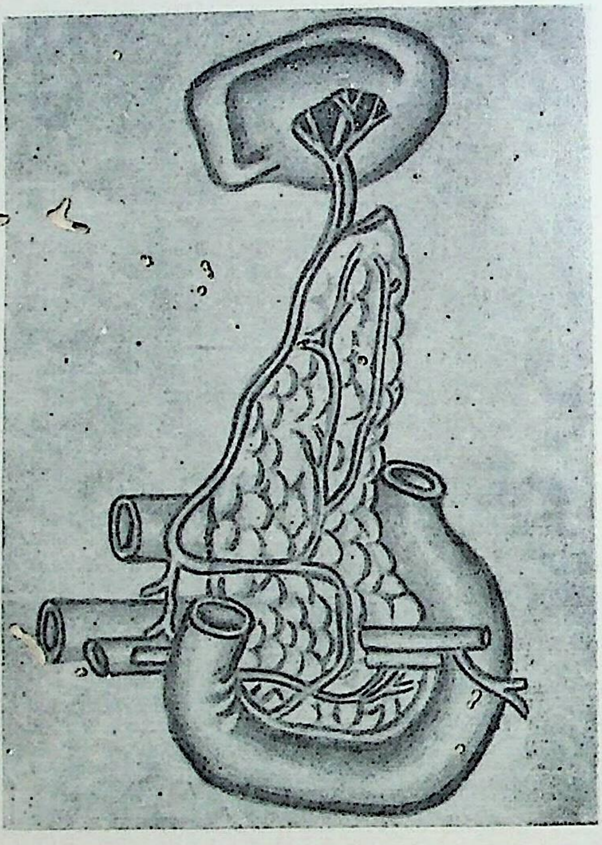

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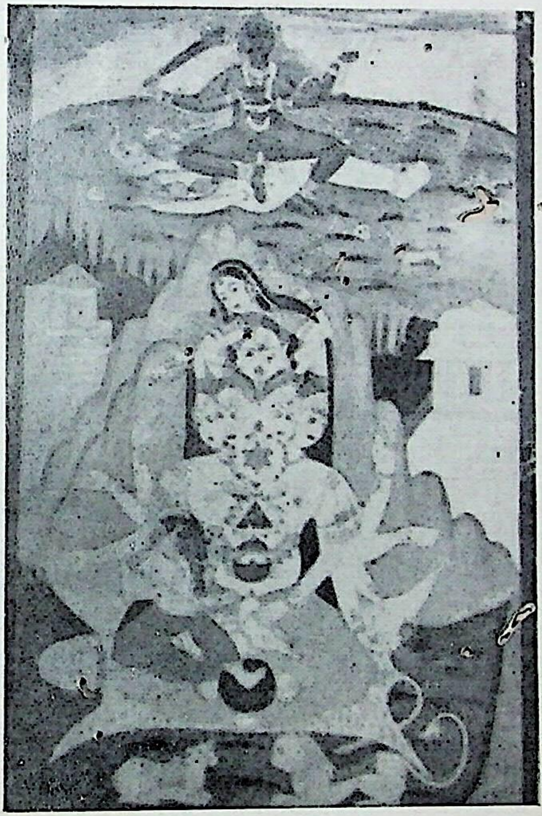

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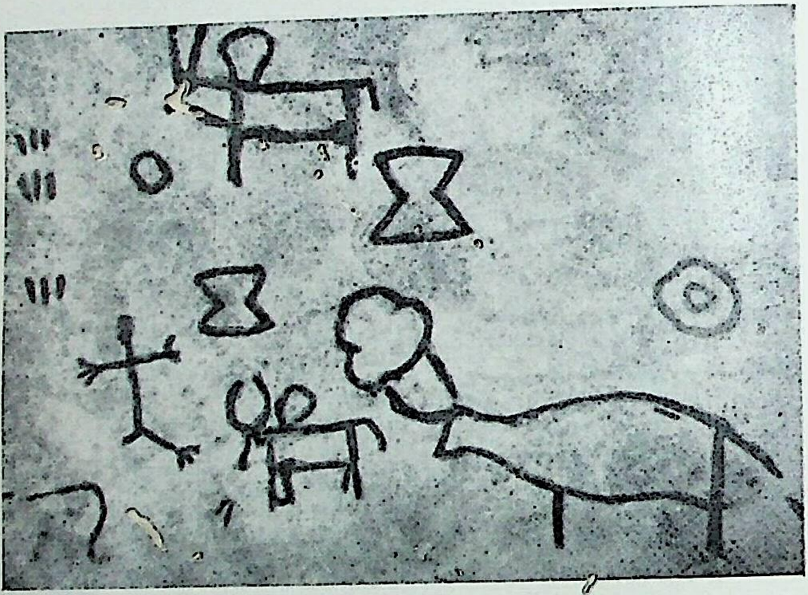

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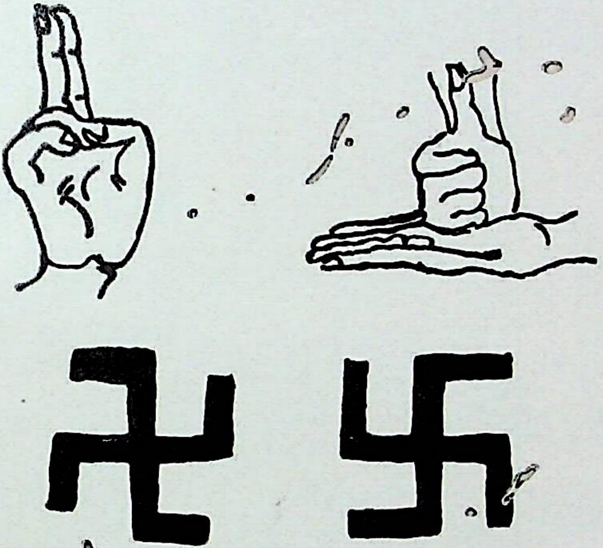

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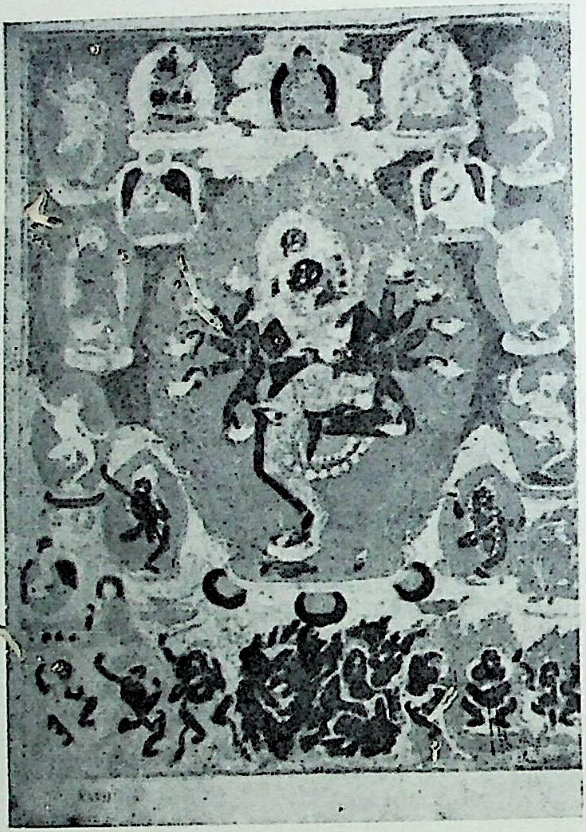

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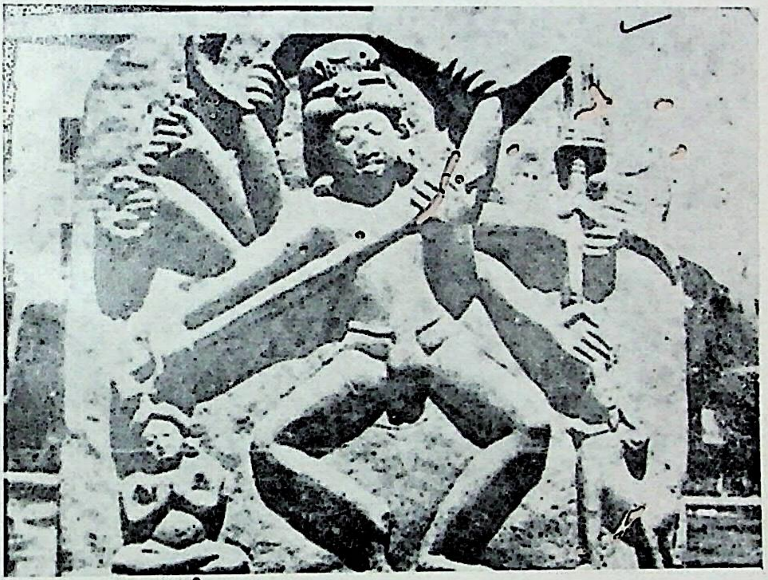

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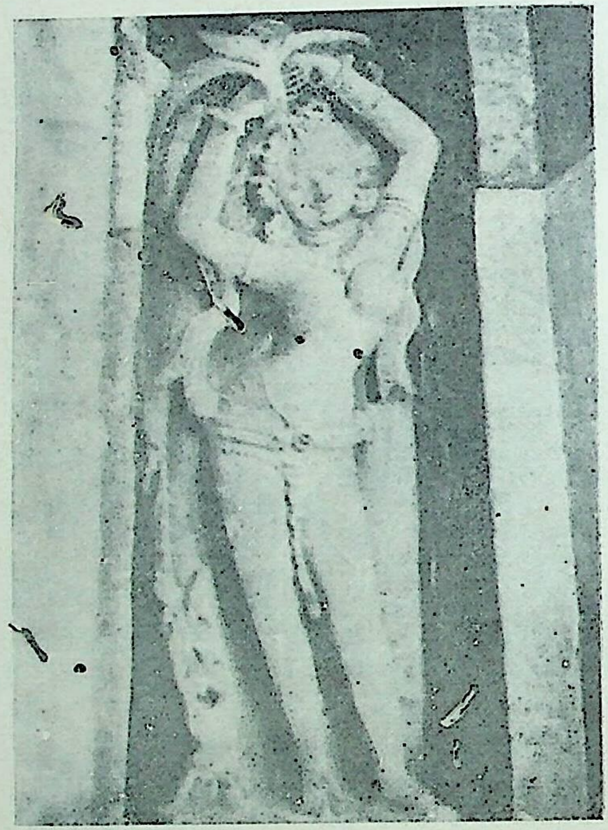

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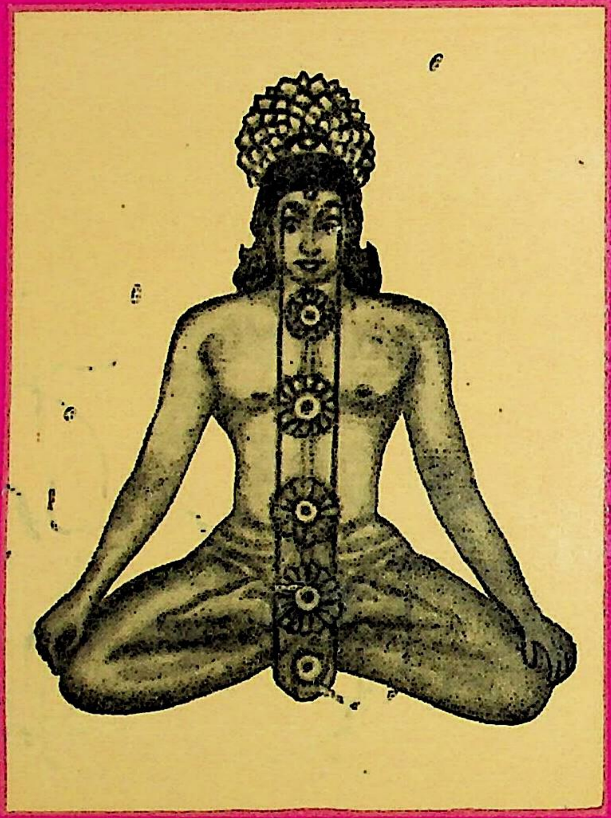
After Overcoming strange Vicissitudes the author got his Postgraduate degree in Oriya in the Year 1965 and in english in the year 1975. He took up lecturership in Oriya at the age of thirtyfive. His Oriya work 'Akhandalamani Itivrtta' published in the year 1975 made the author and Akhandalamani-pitha, a remote village in the district of Balasore, famouse. In the Year 1980-82 he has awarded a fellowship by the Ministry of Education & Culture, Government of India under the 'scheme of fellowships to the outstanding artists in the performing the literary and plastic arts, for compilation of 'Oriya Sahityakosa'. The Publication of this is now in prograss with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Human resource Development (Language Division) department of the Govt. of India, Dr. Biswal wrote his thesis 'Cult of Siva' in english and awarded Ph. D. Degree in the year 1988 overcoming a sad controversy. At present the author is working as a Reader in Oriya in Gopabandhu Science College, Athagarh, Cuttack District. No doubt this book bears the testimony of his scholarship.



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